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**Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Doctorado en Lenguas Modernas**

***The Prevalence of British English
over other Varieties in the Field of
Argentine Foreign Language
Education***

Doctoral Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

The English language has been taught and learnt in Argentina for over two centuries, and it still seems to enjoy a remarkable popularity among people. The present dissertation aims to address an apparent mismatch between the strong prevalence of US-related cultural products in the Argentine setting and the type of English (British English) as a preferred variety by members of the Argentine middle class. This study has the following objectives: (a) to ascertain whether a group of Argentine urban middle class people (from the city of Buenos Aires and the Greater Buenos Aires area) still prefer British to American English, and, at the same time, to explore the nature of their perceptions; (b) to determine to what extent a group of local teachers may prefer the British over the American variety of English, and in so doing, provide the reasons for their choice; and (c) to examine the possible reasons for the prevalence of British over American English in the field of ELT against a network of socio-historical factors as background.

The evidence, both historical and research-based, seems to indicate that, however strong the influence of American culture may be, the once British Empire stands unchallenged and unshakeable in regard to the "ownership" of the English language. The study reaffirms that the English language seems to have become global long before the globalisation process came into existence, and the British variety, in particular, has struggled to keep its once imperial position. Henceforward, a long time is to pass before its American counterpart can attempt to overthrow its linguistic supremacy, at least in the setting where the research has been conducted.

RESUMEN

El idioma inglés se ha enseñado y aprendido en Argentina por más de dos siglos. Esta investigación se propone abordar un aparente divorcio entre la fuerte predilección por los productos culturales provenientes de los Estados Unidos de América en la República Argentina y el tipo de inglés (el inglés británico), como variedad preferida por la clase media argentina. Esta investigación se plantea los siguientes objetivos: (a) indagar en qué medida un grupo de ciudadanos Argentinos (de Buenos Aires y del Gran Buenos Aires) aún prefieren el inglés británico por sobre el americano, y, por otro lado, explorar la naturaleza de su percepción; (b) determinar en qué medida un grupo de profesores locales pueden preferir la variedad británica por sobre la americana, e indagar las razones de su elección; y (c) examinar las posibles razones de la predilección por el inglés británico más que por el americano en el campo de la enseñanza del inglés, en el marco de factores socio-históricos.

La evidencia, tanto histórica como la aportada por la investigación, parece indicar que, por más sólida que sea la influencia cultural norteamericana, el otrora imperio británico permanece firme e imbatible en cuanto a la "propiedad" del idioma inglés. El estudio reafirma que la lengua inglesa parece haberse globalizado antes de que el proceso de globalización naciera, y que la variedad británica, en particular, ha luchado por mantener una posición que una vez fuera imperial. En consecuencia, mucho tiempo ha de pasar antes de que su competidora norteamericana pueda intentar destronar su supremacía lingüística, por lo menos en el marco en el que se ha desarrollado la presente investigación.

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"Our language stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. Whoever knows that language has a ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations."

Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1835.

SECTION 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1.- BRITISH ENGLISH VERSUS AMERICAN ENGLISH

The English language has been taught and learnt in Argentina for over two centuries, and it still seems to enjoy a remarkable popularity among people, who regularly receive English tuition at school, and more often than not decide to study English outside the educational system for a number of academic or practical reasons. It is known that the study of English as a foreign language may be due to labour and professional betterment, communication needs, and possible inclusion in the globalised world of today. We are speaking of the acquisition of a language that has undoubtedly reached a strong transnational status as

well as given origin to an increased number of possible sources of motivation. And motivation, as we all know, can more often than not account for the popularity of English Language teaching and learning, Argentina probably being no exception to the rule.

Admittedly, the world of ELT (English language teaching) cannot simply be viewed as the mere act of teaching a language: it involves a complex set of processes that not only focuses on the learner but on the object to be taught and learnt as well. As regards the latter, it should be important to point out that most authors agree that the English language has nowadays become such an important vehicle for communication that it has recently begun to boast the label of 'global language'. In effect, the literature in the field considers English to be the most widely used language for international communication these days. This status can indeed be challenged by other languages, yet there is tangible conviction that in this transnationalised world of ours, the time-honoured language of the British Empire is to keep its status for some time to come.

Interestingly enough, the predominance of the English language in world affairs during most of the twentieth century, especially the years

before and during the process of globalisation, does not seem to have the British Empire as the main driving force. Indeed, authors clearly acknowledge the fundamental participation of the United States of America and its foreign policies as fundamentally responsible for the presence of the English language on a global scale. The economic shift of power from London to Wall Street in the early twenties, the decline and formal 'end' of the British Empire after World War II (as has been noted by many historians), and the active participation of the USA in international affairs since the end of American isolationism seem to have been particularly instrumental to the world-wide spread of the once "imperial" language.

In the local setting of Buenos Aires, Argentina, the presence of the British linguistic standard seems to prevail, at least among the urban middle class, whose members seem, a priori, to consider it a "superior" or "ideal" type. Although this phenomenon cannot be described in terms of linguistic monopoly, the realm of ELT still seems to favour British over American English, no matter how strong the impact of American overseas policies has been on the Latin American setting all through most of the twentieth century. Indeed, the "American way of life" seems to have been commodified, and brought to encompass numberless

products that the Argentine middle class have in general tended to possess, admire or imitate. No doubt, Hollywood stars have created local nation-wide fashions, and most Argentinians have long been inveterate consumers of Ford, Chevrolet, Coca-Cola, McDonald's, Levi's and so many other American trademarks. Similarly, many an Argentine has some time or other been exposed to the world of Walt Disney, and even dreamt of a Cadillac or a night at the Waldorf Astoria. Yet, when it comes to preferring a linguistic variety, most tend to opt for a British standard.

1.2.- OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

The present dissertation aims to address an apparent mismatch between the strong prevalence of US-related cultural products in the Argentine setting and the type of English (British English) as an apparently preferred variety by members of the Argentine middle class.

This study has the following objectives:

- I.- To ascertain the preference (British to American English) of a group of Argentine urban middle class people (the study has covered the city

of Buenos Aires and parts of the Greater Buenos Aires area), and to subsequently explore the nature of their perceptions.

II.- To determine to what extent a group of Argentine teachers may prefer the British to the American variety of English, and in so doing, provide the reasons for their choice.

III.- To examine the possible reasons for the prevalence of British over American English in the field of ELT against a network of socio-historical factors as background.

1.3.- BASIC HYPOTHESES

This dissertation rests on the following hypotheses:

a.- Asked about their personal preferences as to a variety of English, a number of Argentine middle-class people who know little or no English will tend to choose the British variety as their preferred type for a number of reasons.

b.- Asked about two recordings –one in British and the other in American English--, the same people sample will feel confident that they can identify the variety to which they will be exposed, although in reality they may fail to do so.

c.- Asked about their personal preferences as to a variety of English, a number of Buenos Aires-based teachers of English will tend to choose the British variety as their preferred type.

d.- Asked about the possible reasons for their choice as regards the variety of English preferred, a number of local teachers of English will tend to ground the origin of their preference, primarily, in their own teacher training experience.

e.- Totally aware of the preponderance of the British variety in Argentina over its counterpart, the American English variety, in the local educational field, we propose an insight into the reasons of such preference, reasons which we see as components of a network of social-historical processes.

1.4.- RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study is based on two types of research:

(a) Data Analysis

Two groups of people will be surveyed as regards their preference for the British or American variety of English. One group will consist of urban middle-class people who know little or no English at all; the second group will consist of Argentine teachers of English, whose professional background may reveal their being graduate, undergraduate or untrained practitioners.

Selected sample:

- 100 people from the city of Buenos Aires and thereabouts, who know little or no English.
- 100 teachers of English from the city of Buenos Aires, the Greater Buenos Aires area and a few provinces.

(b) Historical Exploration

Relevant literature and documents are to be examined and quoted so that concrete conclusions may be drawn; these, we hope, may throw light on the generally perceived prevalence of British over American English in the field of ELT.

SECTION 2: SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1.- THE POWER OF BRITAIN

British colonialism and imperialism

a.- British colonialism

'How is the Empire?' were King George V's last words, uttered in 1936, and which revealed a preoccupation of monarchs and governments that resonated across three centuries of British history. Even now, we can see in contemporary Britain a sense in which the Empire lives on, and can even strike back. The imperial presence can be felt in the legacies of the Commonwealth and in the sometimes discordant mixture of chauvinist sentiment and cosmopolitanism which is so dear to the British mind and heart. The need for security and the crusade for opulence still continue to lure Britain into the wider world, and policy-makers still endeavour to ensure that they do not preside over an insignificant island in the North Sea (Andrews, 1985).

The British Empire has been the largest Empire in our known history and the most important global power for more than a century. This Empire was the result of the European age of discovery, the origins of which had direct relation to the sea explorations of the fifteenth century that marked the beginning of the European colonial empires. In 1921, the British Empire had a population of almost 460 million people, and covered about 36.6 million km² (Madison, 2001). Consequently, its legacy is paramount; we only have to consider legal and governmental practices, economic practice, militarily, educational programmes and standards, sports, and, particularly, the global spread of the English language. Indeed, the vast span of this Empire across the globe led many people to state that "the sun never set on the British Empire" -- although this phrase is said to have already been used by King Charles I of Spain, referring to the Spanish Empire (Andrews, 1985). After the Second World War, most of the territories of the Empire gained their independence, and many of them joined the Commonwealth of Nations, a British-based free association of independent states (Madison, 2001).

Going back to colonial Britain, and for the purpose of our exploration, we will distinguish four types of colonial modes of administration, which

generally correspond to different levels of colonialism (Fieldhouse, 1966). Firstly, the most extensive form was *settler colonialism*, where permanent residents transplanted a wide range of institutions from Britain to the colonies without almost any pre-colonial arrangements. The British pursued this policy only in sparsely populated regions that offered a favourable climate. Secondly, when more complex pre-colonial societies were organized around proto-states, Britain usually conducted *indirect colonialism*, allowing pre-colonial leaders to maintain political and legal power over the inhabitants, although these were required to report and pay taxes to the colonial administration. This odd blend of central bureaucratization and peripheral administration was the stylemark of indirect British rule, and it was the usual policy in Africa and in parts of Asia. In contrast with settler colonialism, indirect colonialism implied small-scale institutional transfer from Britain (Fieldhouse, 1966).

Between *settler colonialism* and *indirect colonialism*, we can identify two intermediary types: *direct colonialism* and *hybrid colonialism*. In the case of the former, the British implemented a colonial state that was unified, bureaucratically organized, and which comprised the whole territory. However, direct colonialism did not usually entail large-scale

and permanent British settlement, often on account of the presence of social and physical obstacles. The British had this type of colonialism in trade-orientated colonies, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, and plantation colonies, such as the West Indies. Lastly, the hybrid colonies blended indirect colonialism with either settler or direct colonialism. *Indirect colonialism*, combined with settlement was to be seen in some African colonies, for example in South Africa, while indirect colonialism was also merged with direct colonialism in some of the Asian and Pacific colonies, including those that were too large to be controlled by a central administration, for example India (Fieldhouse, 1966). The British first implemented settler and directly ruled plantation colonies in the Americas and region of Australasia; afterwards, they colonized Asian territories through direct and hybrid forms, to finally colonise sub-Saharan Africa, Borneo, and a few Pacific territories through indirect and hybrid forms of rule (Abernethy, 2000).

b.- British imperialism

British imperialism can be regarded as an attempt to impose on the world a system that would reinforce the same gentlemanly order that Britain had at home. In the eighteenth century this aim was attained

through conquest and protectionism; in the nineteenth century free trade was the weapon used to create an opening for finance, commercial services and manufactures both inside and outside the Empire (Ferguson, 2002). This interpretation can be best supported if we simply explore the behaviour of Britain in the nineteenth century.

Disraeli observed in 1863: "colonies do not cease to become colonies because they are independent". What needs to be emphasised, however, is that Britain's continuing influence in the dominions came to rest increasingly on exports of capital rather than on exports of manufactures (Ferguson, 2002). Canada (although influenced by the United States) and Australia remained looking towards London regarding their borrowing requirements, and, when it was necessary, Australians raised tariffs on British manufactures in order to balance their budgets and service external debts. India, fully under Britain's control in 1914, constitutes an even more striking example of the priority given to financial and service interests. The end of the East India's Company's rule in 1858 meant the shift from the world of patronage and chartered companies to that populated by the new meritocratic class, drawn largely from southern England, who staffed the Indian Civil

Service, and equated good government with sound finance (Brewer, 1980).

The realignment of British interests was also reflected in the additions made to the Empire from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (Cain and Hopkins, 1987). The acquisition of African colonies was the most important of these extensions of the Empire, and it is still the most controversial (Hopkins, 1986). Britain tried to open a number of doors outside the Empire too, but with limited results. Thereafter, however, considerable success was achieved in parts of South America, notably Argentina and Brazil, where important markets for British capital and commercial services were developed, and, with them, opportunities for manufactured exports too. The extent to which these countries depended on the flow of funds from Britain was demonstrated by the financial crises of the 1890s, which compelled Argentina and Brazil to make local adjustments to restore external credit-worthiness. The governing elites of the two republics conformed to the 'rules of the game' because they were said to admire British values and respected British power. The establishment of a branch of Harrods in Buenos Aires shortly before the First World War was suggestive of how completely the Argentine elite had accepted British 'gentlemanly' tastes,

and given way to them (Brewer, 1980). This date marked the end of one phase of expansion and the beginning of another phase of expansion strongly rejected, opposed and widely criticised. To this second phase we will return further on in this chapter.

2.2.- THE USA AND THE WORLD

American imperialism

It is not an easy task to discuss US imperialism without giving our description some degree of political 'colour'. Much has been written about this phenomenon, and from several, sometimes opposing, perspectives. However, the influence of US products, values and cultural elements is undeniable, especially in the Latin American region. Unlike British imperialism, US imperialism seems to stem from a web of historical, political and economic factors brought to exert a powerful influence on the everyday life of the inhabitants of those regions that have traditionally been on 'friendly' terms with the United States of America.

Imperialism was the basic platform for the development of international relations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and, being a blossoming power, the United States took an active part in the global competition that brought about continuous rivalry between the major European powers and established the relationship between powerful metropolitan centres and subordinate colonial holdings (Smith, 2000). The United States entered this race soon after independence, "playing the European game", as Mark Twain acidly observed. Once national sovereignty was definitely established, US leaders sought to extend their territory, and, therefore, US relations with Latin America, for example, during the nineteenth century simply meant a continuation of what the Europeans had been doing with the New World since the fifteenth century (Keen, 1980).

From the very beginning, it was clear that the United States was an aspiring imperial power. The country entered the world leaders' arena as an almost insignificant member, and in less than a century, it grew to be a formidable power. Several historians agree that the USA did not start its imperial course by impulse, miscalculation or accident: its behaviour was the result of a long-term policy and a national purpose

(Smith, 2000). When examining the origins of this policy, we understand that it can be traced back to the concept of 'exceptionalism', that is, the belief that the United States differs qualitatively from other nations, because of its national credo, its historical evolution, or distinctive political and religious institutions. This difference is often expressed in American circles as some categorical superiority, to which some alleged proof, rationalization or explanation is usually attached. The intensity in presenting or defending such a difference may vary greatly, obviously depending on the historical period and the political context under discussion (Madsen, 1998).

The term 'exceptionalism' was first used in regard to the United States by Alexis de Tocqueville in 1831, and is very close to the idea of 'Manifest Destiny', a term used by Jacksonian Democrats in the 1840s to encourage the annexation of much of what is now the Western United States (the Oregon, Texas, and the Mexican Cession). The term was later used in the 1890s by the Republican Party, as a theoretical justification for American expansion outside North America. However, exceptionalism also underlies the belief that the United States boasts an exceptional position among countries, and should not be bound by international law unless the latter serves American interests (Madsen,

1998). This position is based on the implicit premise that the United States cannot violate international law (and in particular international human rights norms); America itself has been largely responsible for instigating those norms in the first place (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979; Keen, 1980).

From a more concrete historical perspective, it is known that after the Spanish-American War and before the Great Depression, the United States sent troops to Latin American countries thirty-two times (Smith, 2000). It used the Roosevelt Corollary, or 'amendment', to the Monroe Doctrine in order to justify direct intervention. In his own words, Theodore Roosevelt clearly stated that the United States had the right to stop "chronic wrongdoing" throughout the Western Hemisphere simply because it was a "civilized nation" (Keen, 1980).

"Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship [...]. Chronic wrongdoing, however, [...] may force the United States to exercise an international police power" (Roosevelt, 1903, cited in Keen, 1980: 93).

Up to that moment, Latin Americans had admired the energy, wealth, and democracy of the United States up to then, but now they were beginning to fear the bullying power of their northern neighbour. Their fear was confirmed when President Theodore Roosevelt supported a 1903 revolution in Panama that resulted in the annexation by the U.S. of territory for the Panama Canal. Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío (1867-1916) responded to Roosevelt with a poem (See Appendix 3), which reads as follows:

"It is with the voice of the Bible, or the verse of Walt Whitman,
that I should come to you, Hunter,
primitive and modern, simple and complicated,
with something of Washington and more of Nimrod.

You are the United States,
you are the future invader
of the naive America that has Indian blood,
that still prays to Jesus Christ and still speaks Spanish.

You are the proud and strong exemplar of your race;
you are cultured, you are skilful; you oppose Tolstoy.
And breaking horses, or murdering tigers,

you are an Alexander-Nebuchadnezzar.

(You are a professor of Energy
as today's madmen say.)

You think that life is fire,
that progress is eruption,
that wherever you shoot
you hit the future.

No".

[...]

Be careful. Viva Spanish America!

There are a thousand cubs loosed from the Spanish lion.
Roosevelt, one would have to be, through God himself,
the fearful Rifleman and strong Hunter,
to manage to grab us in your iron claws.

And, although you count on everything, you lack one thing: God!

(To Roosevelt, Translation by Bonnie Frederick)

History proves that, from that moment onwards, the United States has
strived to make his power felt in the Western Hemisphere, through its

products, its commerce and its politics. Eduardo Galeano opened his most famous book, *Open Veins of Latin America (Las Venas Abiertas de América Latina)*, with the affirmation that "the division of labour among nations is that some specialize in winning and others in losing" (p.1). Latin America has specialized in losing. Galeano especially quotes an Alliance for Progress coordinator as observing that "to speak of fair prices is a 'medieval' concept, for we are in the era of free trade" (p.3). His observations in this book, written 25 years ago, may ring as true today as when he wrote them. He contends that Latin America provides many of the raw products (silver, tin, copper, coffee, sugar, bananas, cotton, and so many others) which have allowed the industrialized world to grow richer. He adds: "Our defeat was always implicit in the victory of others; our wealth has always generated our poverty by nourishing the prosperity of others" (p.4).

American linguist and political critic Noam Chomsky (2003) was also asked to comment on William Appleman Williams, a historian who wrote a book called *Empire as a Way of Life*. In it, the author states that Americans of the twentieth century supported their empire for the very same reasons their ancestors had favoured it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Chomsky's (2003) response was the following:

I think he's correct about the United States, but [...] the United States was not a normal empire in the European style, so it wasn't like the British Empire. The English colonists who came to the United States didn't do what they did in India. They didn't create a facade of the native population behind which they would rule. They largely wiped out the native population. That's rather different. So the indigenous population of what's now the United States was "exterminated," to use the word that the founding fathers used. Not totally, but that was what was considered the right thing to do. They replaced them and it became a kind of settler state, not an imperial state. And the expansion over the national territory was that way all along, including the taking over of large parts of Mexico.

Back in the 1820s, one of the earliest issues in U.S. foreign policy was the desire to take Cuba. It was assumed in the 1820s by Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams and others that Cuba was the next step in expansion. But the British were in the way. The British fleet was much too

powerful, and they couldn't take Cuba at the time. John Quincy Adams made a famous statement, he was secretary of state at the time, in which he said: We should back off and Cuba will fall into our hands like a "ripe fruit" by the "laws of political gravitation." Meaning that sooner or later, we'll become more powerful, the British will become weaker, the deterrent will be gone and we'll be able to pluck the ripe fruit. Which happened in 1898 under the guise of liberation.

But every expansion up until the Second World War was not establishing traditional colonies. Hawaii was taken over from its own population at the same time, 1898, stolen by force and guile. But then the native population was pretty much replaced, they weren't colonized. Again, not totally. They're still there, but it became essentially taken over rather than colonized. The Philippines was different. The Philippines was more like a colony. So Williams' comments are correct but I think they refer to a different sort of imperial system. If you look at the traditional empires, say, the British Empire, it's not so clear that the population of Britain

gained from it. It's really a very difficult topic to study, a kind of cost-benefit analysis of Empire. But there have been a couple of attempts to study it. And for what they're worth, the general range of conclusions is that the costs and the benefits probably pretty much balanced out.

Empires are costly. Running Iraq is not cheap. Somebody's paying. Somebody's paying the corporations that destroyed Iraq and the corporations that are rebuilding it. They're getting paid by the American taxpayer in both cases. So we pay them to destroy the country, and then we pay them to rebuild it. Those are gifts from U.S. taxpayer to U.S. corporations, indirectly, and happen to affect Iraq (Chomsky, 2003: 176-7).

Late twentieth century and early twenty-first century imperialism

A current name used by critical theorists some years ago was cultural imperialism; when referring to it, they meant any foreign permeating influence in a country's ways or customs. Then there came up other names, such as 'media imperialism'" (Boyd-Barrett, 1977); 'structural

imperialism' (Galtung, 1979) and 'cultural dependency and domination' (Link, 1984). All these names (except 'cultural imperialism') relate to an aspect rather than to the whole of the concept and this is why we are going to adopt and keep the name 'cultural imperialism', as it is broader in intent and scope.

Cultural imperialism gained prominence in the 1970s, and, according to Roach (1997), the phenomenon was most prominent in Latin America, producing "a host of adherents including Antonio Pasquali, Luis Ramiro Beltran, Fernandez Reyes Matta and Mario Kaplun (1973)" (p. 47). Simultaneously, the major rationales behind the movement for New World Information and Communication Order within cultural imperialism gave way to one of the names already mentioned: 'media imperialism'. British scholar J. Oliver Boyd-Barrett defines the concept as follows: "the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution, or content of the media in any country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries, without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected" (Boyd-Barrett, 1977: 117).

Our decision to adopt and keep the name 'cultural imperialism' is backed by Herbert Schiller. In his 1976 work *Communication and Cultural Domination*, Schiller suggests the use of the term 'cultural imperialism'. Notwithstanding the fact that his work is mainly anchored in the area of communication, he clearly describes and explains how multinational corporations of developed countries, including the media, exercise their control over developing countries and impose ways of life and values alien to them. Moreover, a review of literature on this topic reveals that, despite the emergence of semantic variants, the term 'cultural imperialism' has continued to be used by authors of various academic backgrounds and disciplines across the last three decades of the last century. Schiller (1976) affirms that cultural imperialism proposes that a society is brought into the modern world system when its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping its social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system.

2.3.- ENGLISH AS A GLOBAL LANGUAGE OR LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM?

For a good number of reasons, including the above historical discussion, the importance of the English language in the world is an undeniable fact. Millions of people make use of the English language as their vehicle for national and international communication at different levels in different social settings. This exponential expansion of language occurred in conjunction with a historical process known as globalization. This new international order has made national borders practically vanish to give rise to developments and enterprises, the seats of which can be found in more than one country. This has had a dramatic impact on most languages in general, and on the English language in particular. The latter has come to be called a global language (Crystal, 2003).

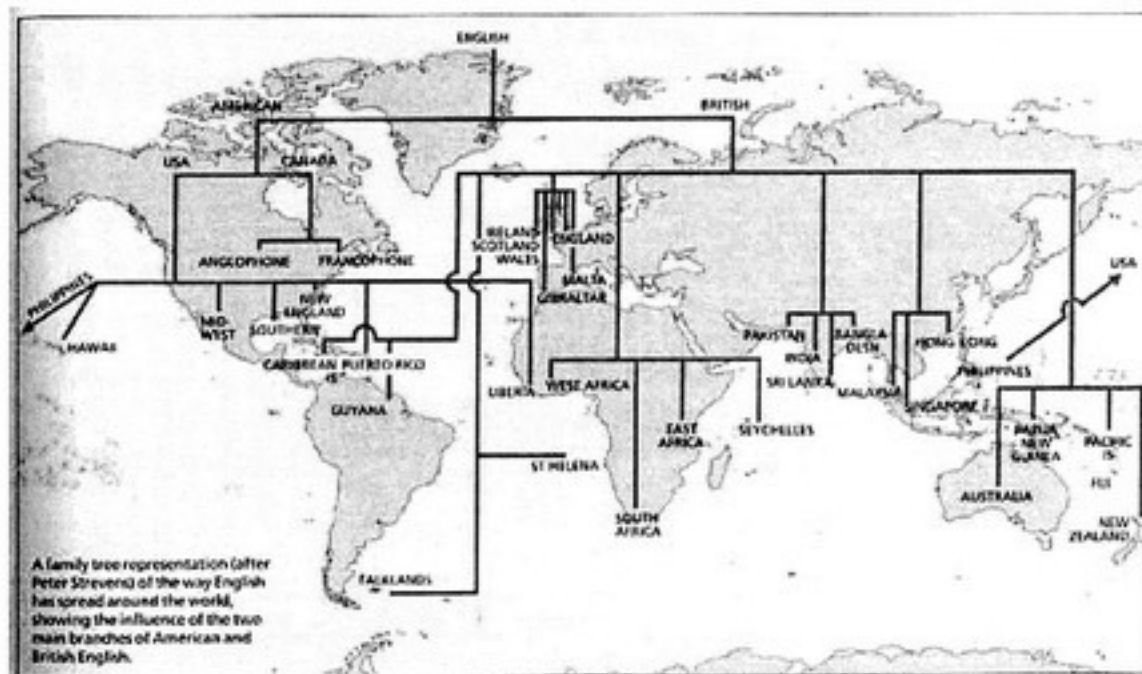
Many authors have explored the issue of English as a global language, and the literature available tends to fall into two main positions. On the one hand, several linguists have embraced the vision of *modernization* (Phillipson, 1992), whereby a globalised world should welcome the

unrivalled supremacy of the English language. They affirm that modern times go hand in hand with the global expansion of English both as a second and as a foreign language. On the other hand, there are several authors who admit the increasing demand for English that seriously question the price to be paid for the global adoption of the language (Pennycook, 1998). They warn of the dangers of *linguistic imperialism* and the risk of *linguistic genocide*: The advances of English at the expense of other languages, a few of which may even be at the risk of becoming extinct constitute a fact which is hard to deny.

Modernization: Crystal's and Graddol's views

If we were to travel four hundred years backwards, many would probably have never conceived the idea of English as a global language. English was spoken by about five to seven million speakers, the vast majority of them living on the British Isles. Crystal (1995) asserts that English was not very much appreciated in Europe and definitely unknown beyond it. Nowadays, English is used by an estimated 1.8 billion speakers (approximately 400 million of them being native speakers). In other words, the population of users of English has multiplied by 250 over the last 400 years.

The following map, adapted from David Crystal (1995), illustrates the global spread of English in terms of a family tree representation:

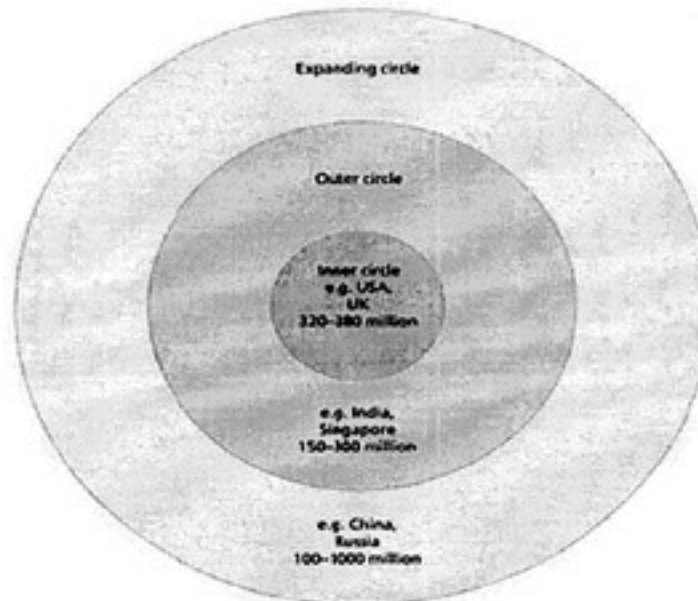


Therefore, the English language being so widespread, it is only natural that there should be more than one status and standard (Kachru, 1996):

- (a) ENL (English as a native language), in reference to British, Irish, Canadian, American, Australian and New Zealand varieties of English;
- (b) ESL (English as a second language), often acquired and used for official or administrative purposes in many former British colonies such as Bangladesh, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, India, etc; and
- (c) EFL (English as a foreign language), spoken in many countries where the

English language is needed for global communication. These countries include China, Indonesia, Korea, Israel, Japan, and others.

In a very clear systematization, Kachru (1996) suggests a three-circle model, in which he succinctly describes the spreading of the English language in the form of a circle with three different layers according to the number of English speakers (See figure below).



Kachru's (1996) three-circle model

It may be interesting to note that linguists estimate that there are about six thousand different languages spoken in the world today. There are about 200 languages that have a million or more native

speakers. Mandarin Chinese ranks first, being spoken by around 874,000,000 people as a native language. English holds a distant fourth position, with approximately 341,000,000 native speakers.

The following table, adapted from www.anthro.palomar.edu (2002), shows the most commonly spoken languages in the world:

	Language	Approximate number of native speakers
1	Mandarin Chinese	874,000,000
2	Hindi (India)	366,000,000
3	Spanish	358,000,000
4	English	341,000,000
5	Bengali (India and Bangladesh)	207,000,000
6	Portuguese	176,000,000
7	Russian	167,000,000
8	Japanese	125,000,000
9	German (standard)	100,000,000
10	Korean	78,000,000

It is clear that English can be acknowledged as *the* global language. However, is this to be sustained in the following years to come? It may be affirmed that we are living the end of an era, which began in the 1800s with the British Empire well-established. This Empire had since its outset laid the foundations for this to occur, and soon the intense trading, diplomatic affairs and language expansion did what had been expected, that is, it set the process of linguistic globalisation into motion. This can be proved by just having a look at the new words being coined that use "post" as a prefix, namely, post-modernism, post-industrialisation, post-feminism, amongst others. To be honest, who can say that an era has finished and that a new one has begun? What we know for sure is that we are witnessing a transition between two times.

Nowadays, this expansion is showing a kind of 'fin de siècle' fear (Graddol, 1997). Are we to wait for a new era to unfold? Does anyone know? Graddol (1997) affirms that English has suffered changes in its structure all along its 1500 years of use. A language which has had such an extended expansion cannot come out of the experience without some kind of cost. Graddol (1997) speaks of changes that have already

taken place or may take place in the future, and views them from three different perspectives:

a.- the changes in pronunciation and grammar, which can be sensed by judging the linguistic behaviour of different English speaking communities in the course of time.

b.- the changes in the quality of response from those invited or forced to adopt English as a second or foreign language. For instance, while speaking English in some countries may be a sign of high social status, in many others, either it means exactly the opposite or it just makes no difference whatsoever.

c.- the changes in the number of English speakers. This number may shift from the astronomic figures of today to lower figures in the years to come. This is something we cannot foretell right now.

Crystal and Graddol not only speak of costs, they also look into the reason that can make a language reach the status of "global language". Curiously enough, the reason coincides in number, for they are three in

all (just like the aforementioned costs). For the authors the reasons can be:

- Political
- Historical
- Commercial or cultural

A reason is political when the motive or intention behind its expansion policies is one of enlarging one's domains in detriment of the natives of the nations conquered or invaded. Those imposing their language are considered its owners. Great Britain and the USA are clear exponents of this posture. A reason is historical when the motives lie in the art of selling on the part of the owners and the willingness to buy on those accepting the deal as buyers. A reason is commercial or cultural when the above mentioned deal includes commodities and values and concrete gains for the owners and illusory or scanty gains for the buyers. How far is this linguistic expansion possible no matter the presence of one or the three reasons cited?

Obviously the presence of those reasons have made of English a global language whose priority over other languages for may specialists still

remains within the sphere of commercial, political and cultural dominance.

Before closing this section we would like to cite Crystal (1995) and Graddol (1997) again, for they do not issue any warnings, fears or detected any potential danger in respect to the spread of the English language, at least in the material reviewed for this dissertation.

Linguistic imperialism

The neoliberal vision of modernism and the need for a global language has been seriously contested by authors who proclaim that the case of English as a global language is, indeed, a case of linguistic imperialism. Phillipson (1992) strongly believes that, after the end of England as a colonial power in the end of the 1940s, Britain, in tacit connivance with her US partner, continued to colonise the world through the establishment of the English language as a dominant language in the world.

In effect, at that time the English language was found to be a major asset and a commodity to be exported and distributed. Phillipson (1992) provides extensive evidence concerning the value of the English language as an exportable commodity throughout the second half of the twentieth century. He is particularly clear on this when he describes the origins and the mission of the British Council around the world (to be commented upon later in this chapter).

However, it may be contended that the real origins of the above project traced back as far back as the golden days of the British Empire. Obviously then, the English language was perhaps more 'imperial' than 'imperialistic'. In any case, this imperial language was imposed on the colonies for survival and on the world afterwards for domination under the guise of success (Phillipson, 1992). After the Second World War, a more severe phase started and English was addressed as imperialistic or as a means of imperialism.

During Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1901), when the British Empire was enjoying its very best days, its development had been characterized by intense trading, conquering, settlements and colonisations all around the globe. In these days, the Empire was

committed to promoting the spread of British technology, industry, commerce, and, of course, language (Graddol, 1997).

It is a very well known fact that most events and developments in this world are based on motivations that come from the world of economy, and there is reason to believe that the spread of English as a global language implies a significant number of interests involved. At the end of the First World War, Great Britain found a partner for the spread of English beyond the borders of the Empire in the New World. This partner was the USA and the nutrients of this partnership had been economic interests: there had been a shift of economic power from London to Wall Street (Graddol, 1997). The expansion plans of the USA included exporting elements of its culture, of which language and American values were part, as well as incentivating the demand for and consumption of American products.

Although Graddol (1996) admits that the globalisation of English might help develop local publishing ventures, reality has not shown this so far, and the world of ELT materials is still dominated by central, and not peripheral countries Phillipson (1992) insists that these texts, not unlike the Hollywood movie industry, have also served as carriers of English

and US culture (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979), seeming to help sell the dream of a glorious language that will help everyone attain glory.

In addition, and in keeping with their interests, the British began to show concern for the improvement of ELT standards (Phillipson, 1992). After the pioneering work done in the University of Edinburgh in the 1950s, which practically created the field of Applied Linguistics, multiple theories materialised and a new-born discipline was soon to have thousands of professionals thirsty for knowledge and ready to pay exorbitant sums of money to be taught how to teach English in the world. Curiously, the seats of knowledge concerning Applied Linguistics happened to be located in the countries where the teaching of foreign languages is particularly deficient: England and the USA (Canagarajah, 1999). The expected gains had come to nothing for peripheral countries. Only the central could be centres and arbiters of the English language. The Third World countries were only expected to make the language spread locally, but, at the same time, this language was supposed to be blindly subservient to the linguistic rules imposed by the countries that really owned the new commodity.

Historically speaking, we have placed the beginning of this second phase of linguistic expansion as from the Second World War onwards. We have cited renowned scholars such as David Graddol, David Crystal and Robert Phillipson. Supportive views and operating means for this process of expansion to take place are well documented in the section that follows.

2.4.- PROMOTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE WORLD

British promotion of their language

As early as 1801, the British philologist William P. Russell proclaimed that

[...] the English language [...] is already the most general in America. Its progress in the East is considerable; and if many schools were established in different parts of Asia and Africa to instruct the natives, free of all expense, with various premiums of British manufacture to the most meritorious pupils, this would be the best preparatory step that Englishmen could adopt for the general admission of their commerce, their opinions, their religion. This would tend to conquer the heart and its affections; which is a far more effectual conquest than that obtained by swords and cannons: and a thousand pounds expended for tutors, books, and premiums, would do more to subdue a nation of

savages than forty thousand expended for artillery-men, bullets, and gunpowder (Russell, 1801, cited in Bailey, 1991: 123).

With reference to this issue, it should be important to remember the figure of Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1st Baron Macaulay, (1800-1859), a nineteenth-century English poet, historian and Whig politician and Member of Parliament for Edinburgh. Macaulay was Secretary to the Board of Control of India from 1832 until 1833. After the passing of the Government of India Act 1833, he was appointed the first Law Member of the Governor-General's Council. He went to India in 1834. Serving on the Supreme Council of India between 1834 and 1838, he was instrumental in creating the foundations of bilingualism in colonial India, by successfully persuading the Governor-General to adopt English as the medium of instruction in higher education, from the sixth year of schooling onwards, rather than Sanskrit or Arabic, the languages used at that time in the institutions supported by the East India Company (Firth, 1938).

Macaulay's (1835) famous minute on Indian education can give us a clear idea of how the Empire viewed the teaching of its language:

Our language [...] stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. Whoever knows that language has a ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations [...]. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East.

[...]

To sum up what I have said, I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our engagement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good

English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and

Sanskrit books, I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanskrit college at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahmanical learning; Delhi, of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanskrit college at Benares and the Mahometan college at Delhi, we do enough, and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and Delhi colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but that the people shall be left to make their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo college at Calcutta, and to establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught (Macaulay, 1835, cited in Trevelyan 1881: 290).

Almost a century later, as the Empire was beginning to show the first

signs of decline, the English language continued being a major asset as a British export (Monbiot, 2000). It was thought that to best achieve this goal, a professional platform should be launched to spread the English language as an end in itself, and as a means to obtain other benefits overseas. Phillipson (1992) mentions the British Council as the central agency for the international sale of the English language, and invites us to examine its origins and structure. The organization is central to the promotion of English, and includes government, academic, and commercial concerns. On the other hand, the USA has a number of state-run and private organizations, which feature a range of functions, both at home and abroad. British and American endeavours may in this respect be said to be well co-ordinated and effectively supervised.

There is a large amount of documentary material that bears witness to the developments of the past 50 years in this particular area. The central institutions regularly need to justify their existence to their governments, accounting for and reporting on their action (the British Council's *Annual Reports*, the American agencies' *Linguistic Reporter*, etc.).

Phillipson (1992) asserts that, before the 1950s, the British were not particularly quick to see the need to promote their language abroad through diplomacy. The French and the Germans had already promoted their languages and opened schools overseas as early as the nineteenth century, with funds coming from both public and private sources. This type of work, for the benefit of expatriate communities and local elites, was intensified in the first decades of this century. The author states that

A Foreign Office investigation in 1920 into the position of British communities abroad suggested an expansion of cultural propaganda activities, but failed to win Treasury approval. The Foreign Office began cultural work cautiously in 1934 as a result of prompting from the business world. A committee designated 'The British Council for Relations with other Countries', assembled a body of business men and educational experts under the chairmanship of Lord Tyrell to consider a scheme for furthering the teaching of English abroad and to promote thereby a wider knowledge and understanding of British culture generally (Phillipson,

1992:137).

A proximate cause for establishing a pro-English organization was the interest of the British Foreign Office to counter Nazi and Fascist propaganda. The potential of blending linguistic promotion with political benefits was seen from the beginning. Royal patronage was soon obtained and, at the ceremony of official inauguration in 1935, the Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII, and later still Duke of Windsor) remarked:

The basis of our work must be the English language [...and] we are aiming at something more profound than just a smattering of our tongue. Our object is to assist the largest number possible to appreciate fully the glories of our literature, our contribution to the arts and sciences, and our pre-eminent contribution to political practice. This can be best achieved by promoting the study of our language abroad [...] (Edward, Prince of Wales, 1935, cited in Phillipson, 1992:139).

The official purpose of an organization of this kind was to promote a wider knowledge of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the English Language abroad, and to develop closer cultural relations between the United Kingdom and other countries, for the purpose of benefiting the British Commonwealth of Nations (British Council *Annual Report* 1940-1941, cited in Phillipson, 1992).

This traditional concept of culture was to be spread by such means as 'the encouragement of English studies in foreign schools and universities [...] the encouragement throughout these institutions and elsewhere of the knowledge of the English language' (British Council *Annual Report* 1940-1941, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 139) and the promotion of a large number of activities that had English as their medium of expression (cultural centres, anglophile societies, scholarships for study in Britain, and so forth). Below, there seems to be clear evidence of the central role that language plays in a project like this one::

It is firmly believed by the Council, and indeed would appear self-evident, that a knowledge of the English language is of major assistance in securing a proper

understanding of this country. On the extension of this knowledge lies the surest method of developing permanent cultural relationships with foreign peoples (British Council *Annual Report* 1940-1941, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 140).

Practically all the funding of the British Council was furnished by Parliament by way of the Foreign Office (Phillipson, 1992); therefore, it was difficult to claim independence for the organization, as its first chairman was Lord Lloyd, who was at the same time Secretary of State for the Colonies during Churchill's administration. The Council's policy was, and is, the responsibility of the government, with the support of other departments. The bulk of post-war British government propaganda abroad was the responsibility of government departments, the BBC, and, obviously, the Council.

Since then, the British Government have insisted on the value of the English language, and the British Council has indefatigably played its role in favour of the presence of English beyond the seas, lest anyone should be unaware of the profitability of investment in English, and the certainty that linguistic influence blends with other kinds of influence:

Our language is our greatest asset, greater than North Sea Oil, and the supply is inexhaustible; furthermore, while we do not have a monopoly, our particular brand remains highly sought after. I am glad to say that those who guide the fortunes of this country share my conviction in the need to invest in, and exploit to the full, this invisible, God-given asset (British Council *Annual Report* 1983-84, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 143).

As regards English language teaching, Phillipson (1992) asserts:

The British Council's expertise in English teaching at that time was mainly of two types. Firstly, the Council ran English teaching operations in a large number of anglophile associations in South America and in Institutes in major European cities. Secondly, a small number of Council officers were in influential English teaching posts (mostly in higher education) and increasingly in advisory work on syllabuses, teacher training, and methods of teaching in periphery-English countries. In the mid-1950s, there were about ten such 'Education Officers'. The Council's minimal

experience of the problems of education in multilingual societies was to have significant consequences for the way ELT was to develop (Phillipson 1992:147).

If there is any doubt about the relationship between the British Council and the British government, the official British Council website makes a very important caveat as to the pseudo-independence of the organization in its early years. This soft disclaimer only refers to the existence of a chairperson and a committee, and to the responsibilities shared between the people involved. This does not necessarily imply that it is a non-government organisation:

Although set up and partly funded by the Foreign Office, and working closely with it, the British Council had its own Chairman and Committee, and was responsible for its own policy and activities (www.britishcouncil.org)

As soon as the British government realised that the teaching of English could become a growing enterprise, they decided that something had to be done. An *Official Committee on the Teaching of English Overseas* reported to the Cabinet in March 1956 (Ministry of Education 1956,

cited in Phillipson, 1992). The committee, which included representatives of the Foreign Office, Scottish Office, Commonwealth Relations Office, Colonial Office, the Board of Trade, the Ministry of Education, the University Grants Committee, and the British Council, concluded that there were unquestionable opportunities for an increase in the use of English as the main second language in most parts of the non-English speaking world. They also stated that if the opportunities were to be seized, the number of teachers abroad would have to be increased. They added that potentially influential teachers from abroad should be invited to come to Britain to be trained, that there should be more university departments offering training courses for teachers, and that BBC English by Radio should be expanded (Phillipson, 1992).

American promotion of English

The 1956 British Cabinet committee report on the teaching of English overseas was anxious that the global spread of English should occur mainly under the auspices of the Commonwealth and the United States. The report observed that although the Americans had extensive

experience in the teaching of English to immigrants and members of allied armed forces, there had as yet been little promotion abroad. It also stated that the British Council had already begun coordinating strategies with their American counterparts. In fact, at this stage, both the British Council and the American State Department had issued identical circulars to their overseas offices encouraging cooperation between British and Americans in this area (Phillipson, 1992).

What this Cabinet report fails to mention is that the USA also had vast experience in imposing the English language as a colonial power. For example, from the beginning of the twentieth century, the Americans had introduced English in the Philippines as the primary medium of instruction. With American textbooks, Filipinos began to learn not only a new language but also a new way of life. Command of English therefore became the mark of the educated man. The colonial relationship between the US and the Philippines reveals very clearly that language is power (Phillipson, 1992). After the imposition of the English language, the country became dependent on a borrowed language, which carries with it the dominant ideology and political-economic interest of the US. Together with its dependence on a borrowed language, the country also became dependent on foreign theories and methods that underlay the

'borrowed' language: this undoubtedly resulted in a 'borrowed' consciousness (Phillipson, 1992). The people's values were then more easily modified in order to equate foreign interests with national interests. Consequently, it became much easier for the US to further subjugate the Filipino people and impose its will on them. Although the Philippines became officially independent in 1946, the structures and attitudes imposed by the Americans have largely remained in force since then (Enriquez and Marcelino, 1984).

Other American possessions in the Pacific had a similar fate. The experience of Guam is described in an article entitled 'ESL: a factor in linguistic genocide' (Day, 1980). In 1906, eight years after the island was ceded to the US, an 'English-only' policy in court proceedings, land registration, government offices, and other concerns was introduced. In 1922, the indigenous language, Chamorro, was banned at schools and Chamorro dictionaries were simply burned. Even though Chamorro was declared an official language in 1974, the discriminatory attitudes of earlier times have prevailed, English still being regarded as the key to economic success, and Chamorro disregarded as inadequate. Day (1980) expresses the fear that current ESL programmes are strongly reinforcing prejudices by focusing on the limited English proficiency of

learners and emphasising the importance of English, rather than bilingual competence. (Phillipson, 1992).

Towards the middle of the twentieth century, all American foreign policy activities were subordinated to the needs of the Cold War. Before the Second World War, the US government had been reluctant to take on responsibility for work that was done effectively by private agencies, particularly the philanthropic foundations. It was in 1938 that the State Department acquired a Cultural Relations Division. It was then expected that most of its activity would continue to take place on private initiative. It was hoped that the foundations would continue funding such international organisations as the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Library Association, both under the umbrella of the State Department. In any case the same individuals who dominated politics and business were also trustees of the Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford foundations, representing the American power elite. It was therefore unlikely that different goals would be pursued (Phillipson, 1992). In the immediate postwar years, an active policy of internationalism was pursued. The Americans pressed for the creation of UNESCO, and were resolved to ensure that this organization would serve American purposes (Ninkovich, 1981).

It is an undeniable fact that foreign cultural policies serve general foreign policy goals. What may not be so obvious is that in 'central' English-speaking states, foreign policy goals are decided by those who determine domestic policy targets. This can be seen clearly in the case of American policy-making, as Chomsky's analysis shows:

On foreign policy since the Second World War, a principal source is the memoranda of the War and Peace Studies of the Council on Foreign Relations during the war. Participants included top government planners and a fair sample of the 'foreign policy elite', with close links to government, major corporations, and private foundations. These memoranda deal with the 'requirements' of the United States in a world in which it proposes to hold unquestioned power, foremost among them being 'the rapid fulfilment of a program of complete rearmament' [...]. The areas which are to serve the prosperity of the US include the Western Hemisphere, the British Empire and the Far East, described as a natural integrated economic unity in

the geopolitical analysis of the planners. The major threat to US hegemony in the non-German world was posed by the aspirations of the British. The contingencies of the war served to restrict these, and the American government exploited Britain's travail to help the process along. Lend-lease aid was kept within strict bounds, enough to keep Britain in the war but not enough to permit it to maintain its privileged imperial position [...]. In this conflict within the alliance, American interests succeeded in taking over traditional British markets in Latin America and in partially displacing Britain in the Middle East, particularly Saudi Arabia (Chomsky 1982, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 95).

After the war, the Americans were as conscious as the British of the inextricability of economic and cultural policies, so they developed their own version of a civilizing mission to legitimate the dissemination of American influence. This is well documented by Chomsky:

In modern state capitalist societies such as our own, domestic decision-making is dominated by the private business sector in the political as well as the strictly

economic arena. [...] Those who have a dominant position in the domestic economy command substantial means to influence public opinion. It would be surprising indeed if this power were not reflected in the mass medias, themselves major corporations, and the school and universities: if it did not, in short, shape the prevailing ideology to a considerable extent. What we should expect to find is 1) that foreign policy is guided by the primary commitment to improving the climate for business operations in a global system that is open to exploitation of human and material resources by those who dominate the domestic economy, and 2) that this commitment is portrayed as guided by the highest ideals and by deep concern for human welfare (Chomsky, 1982; cited in Phillipson, 1992: 97).

An example of this legitimation rhetoric as to world hegemony can be found in a National Security Council report of April 1950, written when the cold war had frozen and it was essential to persuade the general public that it was a real war. 'The Americans should undertake "the responsibility of world leadership", "foster a world environment in which the American system can survive and flourish". This should not be

difficult, in the light of our moral ascendancy, the essential tolerance of our world outlook, our generous and constructive impulses, and the absence of covetousness in our international relations' (Phillipson, 1992).

This imperial rhetoric translated into book promotion and an increase in the number of foreign students in the USA. Americans were actively investigating how to break the European dominance of the Latin American market and were exploring the possibility of a state subsidy for the purpose. Exports of American books amounted to 5.5 million volumes per year, or 2.5 per cent of total book sales, whereas British publishers exported 48 million volumes per year, roughly 30-35 per cent of their gross annual output. A cartel for American exports was established in 1945, but it was wound up after two years because the buyers were still too impoverished, and little government funding for cultural diplomacy was available then. Within a few years, such funds were forthcoming on a massive scale (Phillipson, 1992). A second ingredient was the education of foreign students in the USA. Numbers rose from 7,000 in 1943 to 26,000 in 1949. Here, also, there was a problem of finance, but this was solved when funds owed abroad were transformed into Fulbright awards to study in USA. The number of

foreign students in the USA rose to 140,000 by 1971, as compared with 27,000 in Britain (Phillipson, 1992).

American goals for cultural diplomacy are stated in the *Fulbright-Hayes Act* of 1961:

[T]o increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries [...] to promote international co-operation for educational and cultural advancement; and thus to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic, and peaceful relations between the United States and other countries in the world (*Fulbright-Hayes Act*, 1961, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 156).

A total number of six government agencies became involved in English-teaching activities: "the Department of State through the Fulbright program; the Agency for International Development; the US Office of Education, through the International Teacher Exchange Program; the Department of Defense; the Peace Corps; and the Department of the Interior, which has the responsibility for English instruction in the Indian schools in this country and the Trust Territories overseas" (Marckwardt,

1967; cited in Phillipson, 1992: 156). Additionally, there are also several private organizations funding activities with similar goals, that is, promoting understanding of the language and the culture of the USA. School exchange programmes can be a good example of the point just made.

The *foundations* played a central role in establishing English as a second language (ESL) as an academic discipline and the impact on the growth of ELT can be seen from the following examples. From 1952 onwards, the Ford Foundation provided grants to develop resources in English teaching abroad. By the mid-1960s, it had projects in 38 countries. Ford also provided grants to American universities for the establishment of training programmes for teachers of ESL. The Ford Foundation was also involved, along with the British Council, in the original planning of the establishment of the School of Applied Linguistics in Edinburgh in 1957 (Davies, 1991). The Rockefeller Foundation supported several projects overseas, including a major one in the Philippines in cooperation with the University of California at Los Angeles. Ford Foundation subsidies have been decisive for the establishment and continued existence of the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) in Washington. One of its central functions is to

promote ESL teaching by encouraging research and the production of teaching materials, and by running an information centre. However, CAL has focused more on ESL, that is, bilingual education in the United States, than on ELT worldwide.

Since shortly after the Second World War, English teaching has been widely legitimated as being of national and international interest. Such interests are not specified, but are assumed to be generally valid, as Chomsky very clearly points out:

A typical thesis of the propaganda system is that the nation is an agent in international affairs, not special groups within it, and that the nation is guided by certain ideals and principles, all of them noble. [...] In the United States, the prevailing version of "the white man's burden" has been the doctrine, carefully nurtured by the intelligentsia, that the US, alone among powers of modern history, is not guided in its international affairs by the perceived material interests of those with domestic power, but rather wanders aimlessly, merely reacting to the initiatives of others, while pursuing abstract moral principles: the Wilsonian principles of freedom

and self-determination, democracy, equality, and so on. [...]

This myth of American benevolence is the contemporary version of the 'civilizing mission' (Chomsky, 1982, cited in Phillipson: 160).

In the world of ELT the myth of 'academic freedom' was magically blended with the myth of the non-political nature of the language teaching business. The profession acquired slightly different agendas on each side of the Atlantic, but each one was explicit on the technical concerns of ELT and remarkably silent on the economic and political agendas behind their work. As the British and the Americans rapidly expanded their international English teaching effort, there was an obviously urgent need for co-ordinated action. The British and the American civilizing missions needed to be in harmony, in order to make sure that "the gospels were complementary rather than competing" (Phillipson, 1992: 163).

2.5.- ENGLISH SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS TO ARGENTINA

Ever since its unification as a country and even before, Argentine rulers welcomed productive immigration, although selectively. Article 25 of the 1853 Constitution reads:

The Federal Government will encourage European immigration, and it will not restrict, limit or burden with any taxes the entrance into Argentine territory of foreigners who come with the goal of working the land, improving the industries and teach the sciences and the arts.

The Preamble to the Constitution dictates a number of goals --justice, peace, defence, welfare and liberty-- that apply "to all men in the world who wish to dwell on Argentine soil". The Constitution incorporates, along with other influences, the thought of Juan Bautista Alberdi, who expressed his opinion on the matter in succinct terms: "to rule is to populate".

Immigration arrived in Argentina from many different parts of Europe. Of particular importance, on a more qualitative than quantitative note, were the groups of English-speaking immigrants. Bartolomé Mitre, Argentine president between 1862 and 1868, once stated that there had been, and were, English witnesses and participants in each of the key stages in Argentine development (Graham-Yooll, 2000).

History tells us that Don Pedro de Mendoza left Spain in August 1535 to found Santa María de los Buenos Ayres on the banks of the River Plate in February of the following year. There were some British persons among the almost two thousand people that manned Don Pedro's boats: a John Ruter of London, a Nicholas Colman of Hampton and a Richard Limon of Plymouth. Before this, there had been British men reported to have sailed with Ferdinand Magellan and Sebastian Cabot. It would not be wrong to say that, from the very start, there were English people on the dawning Argentine soil (Graham-Yooll, 2000).

Years later, the English monarch ruled over these territories for a very brief period. Indeed, in 1554, Mary I of England married Philip II of Spain, who would be crowned King of Spain in 1556. It was in these years, too, that Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hopkins sailed around

the South American continent, stopping at Buenos Aires for some time on their slave-trade route, before the second foundation of Buenos Ayres by Juan de Garay (Burkholder and Lyman, 1998).

From that moment onwards, many English, Scottish and Irish people came to what would later on be called Argentina. In 1806, the English were landing in Buenos Aires in small numbers, mostly as businessmen and traders (Schultz de Mantovani, 1957). They were warmly received, as they were expected to bring stability to the commercial life of a newly emerging nation. As the century unfolded, many more English families with capital came in increasing numbers. They bought land to develop the potential of the Argentine pampas for the large-scale growing of crops. They founded banks, developed the export trade in crops and animal products, imported the luxuries that the growing Argentine middle classes sought, and left their indelible imprint, as reported by Ogilvie (1910):

We have taught the Argentines many of our national sports and games, and they have entered into them with such thoroughness that the teachers have often had to admit that the pupil has proved better than the master. Travelling has

become an integral part of the education of the Argentine family to-day, and it is quite general to find young children speaking fluently four or five languages (Ogilvie, 1910: 134).

The Irish came to these territories as sheep-farmers and agricultural labourers: they were people who were leaving the poverty of rural Ireland. Obviously, they showed preference for the large open areas of Argentina, leaving an indelible mark on the character of our country. Being a strong community group, the Irish have certainly added to the spread of the linguistic variety that still reigns in our country: British English. Besides, more often than not, we can witness their cultural contribution, which can be seen as part of their process of integration. They have made us learn about their homeland and inheritance at school, in clubs, in sports institutions, and in such entertainment locations as the Irish Pubs to be found in and around the city of Buenos Aires.

The Scots arrived in contingents from 1825 onwards; they came on vessels such as the *Symmetry*, which sailed directly from Scottish ports. They founded large estates, established Presbyterian churches, raised

large families, and through hard work made great progress. The Welsh founded a Welsh-speaking community in Patagonia in 1865, in the hope of preserving their language and customs. The founding members arrived on board the *Mimosa* to a bleak welcome on an inhospitable Patagonian shore. Nonetheless, they stayed and managed to establish the thriving Welsh communities of today in the region (Graham-Yooll, 2000).

It is important to note, at this point, that it was not until 1870, more than 50 years after independence that an open immigration policy began in Latin American countries. This immigration brought millions of people to South America, changing the population from 23,163,000 in 1850, to 231,070,000 in 1980. This dramatic increase in numbers was caused not only by the natural growth of the existing population, but also by the large numbers of immigrants that were attracted to South America. Of these, many came to Argentina (Fieldhouse, 1966).

Murray (2006: 1) provides an interesting picture of Argentina towards the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

Like India, New South Wales or British Guiana, nineteenth-century Argentina was regarded in London business circles as a market where Britain could obtain all the benefits of investment and trade with very weak competition from other countries. Unlike those or other British colonies, Argentina added very little or no burden at all to the colonial administration and expenditure. Therefore, the influence and control that England could hold over Argentina meant that the South American country could be considered an informal, or *de facto*, British colony. Indeed, up to World War I, Argentina was one of the most important countries of the informal empire.

The capital of the Argentine Republic, Buenos Aires, underwent an intensive process of identity, ranging from a neglected outpost in sixteenth-century Spanish South America, to capital of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate, to *Gran Aldea* (big village) and finally to a cosmopolitan city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From the late eighteenth century, Buenos Aires became the economic, social and political focus of the pampas in

Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. The Anglophile elite governed the country like an enormous *estancia*, in which a few hundred landlords owned thousands of square kilometres of prime land. During some periods in the first half of the nineteenth century, almost everything except the meat, hides and wool was imported from England. At the same time, the basic social structure of the Spanish colony remained untouched after the independence, allowing little or no social mobility to the poorer segments. With an impressive -in European terms- availability of agricultural land, the province of Buenos Aires represented to most potential emigrants the possibility of acquiring productive lands, and thus becoming part of the imagined South American landed gentry.

It is a fact that the Britons constituted one of the smallest immigrant communities in Argentina at the beginning of the twentieth century (Graham-Yooll, 2000). In 1914, there were between two and three million foreign residents, of whom less than 28,000 were of British origin (Graham-Yooll, 2000). The author points out that this group refused to be regarded as immigrants, as this might presuppose a social descent:

they were "visitors". Their subsequent decline in number in the course of the twentieth century was due to death and emigration rather than to assimilation.

Indeed, Fern (1960, as cited in Graham-Yooll, 2000) stated that, between 1860 and 1914, Argentina became one of the pillars of British economy. Although British influence on Argentine economy was considerable, the British residents never sought actual power in the local environment, save for isolated cases. Firstly, Argentina was not an "official" British colony. Secondly, when prominent English-speaking traders of Buenos Aires wanted to expand their interests, they did not seek capital from local resources, but from London. Thirdly, the profits made by these entrepreneurs were more often than not transferred to London, and very often these people returned to England once they became rich (Graham-Yooll, 2000).

British influence made itself felt locally mainly in four areas: commerce, education, transport and sports. Although British commercial influence is nowadays limited to some financial consultants and some business undertakings, it was the sum of British interests that encouraged the centralisation of commerce in and around the city of Buenos Aires,

bringing about (a) the design of the Argentine railway network and the setting of the port of Buenos Aires as its terminal, (b) the growth of maritime transport and (c) the partial ownership of most public services. Graham-Yooll (2000) complains that the splendid railway network that Argentina once boasted was destroyed by the incompetence of the politicians of the 1980s.

Commerce and railways supported a large number of families, a fact that encouraged the creation of a robust private educational system, still existent but now forced to dispense with its original British style (See *A Word on Bilingual Education* below). Early British education was also linked to the Anglican and the Presbyterian Church, and later on, when the Irish set up their own schools, to the Roman Catholic Church. The right to a foreign creed, granted by the Argentine Constitution was never seen as a threat to the central position of Roman Catholicism in Argentina by the local government, the armed forces or the local citizenry (Cibotti, 2006).

The British community in Argentina turned out to be the largest outside the Empire, given the presence of British railways, British merchant marine, British cold storage companies, British-owned rural settlements,

and British imports and exports delegations. This community also contributed on a large scale to the moulding and improvement of Argentine education in general. Graham-Yooll (2000) observes that British participation in Argentine affairs was always pioneering, ranging from pirates to polo-players. Among the contributions of this community, the author cites the first travel-books written by English explorers (Prieto, 1996), the early watercolours painted by an English naval officer, the schools founded by the British in Buenos Aires, the introduction of English sports, such as football, tennis or polo, which Argentinians inherited from the English and have played a central part in our culture to this day, the British hospital and its ground-breaking advances in the areas of nursing, surgery, general medicine and anaesthetic agents, and the number of British soldiers that fought alongside the *criollos* in the wars of independence.

The community existed and expanded with the above-mentioned pioneering spirit until the First World War, which changed both the British Empire and the world in general. The effects of the Great War can be seen in its figures: almost five thousand British subjects and Anglo-Argentines joined up to fight for Britain, which gives a clear idea of the community's vigour. Only a fourth part returned to our country.

Their influence did not cease to exist overnight, but it severely declined after this episode. Graham-Yooll (2000) states that the curtain fell definitively after the nationalisation of the railway system in 1948, although some vestiges can still be seen in the popularity of The Buenos Aires Herald, a 138-year-old newspaper, now US-owned, the towering presence of Harrods on Florida street in Buenos Aires, and the existence of a number of British institutions that are now part of our culture.

Graham-Yooll's (2000) text has proved to be an invaluable source of reference in this study, but his stance seems to be slightly biased in favour of the island of Great Britain, as the head of what has been perhaps the largest Empire ever. This could well mean that whenever he uses the term 'British' it is felt that he intends the word to refer to the history of immigrants from the largest and most powerful island of the Empire. In effect, Graham-Yooll seems to pay little attention to the central role that the Irish community played in Argentine history; it is true that they were not traders from London, intent on making profits that would be made transferable to London: they came to work the then inhospitable parts of the land and played an essential role in the making of the Argentine nation.

Because of what has been expressed in the previous lines we will quote Nally (1992), to pay the Irish due homage. The author states that the records of the port of Buenos Aires in 1849 show 708 immigrants arriving from Ireland. The 1850s show a lot of Irish owned estancias (ranches) which, in turn, employed new immigrants. The author states that the arrival of Edward Mulhall in 1852 was particularly significant as, together with his brother, he founded the *Buenos Aires Standard* newspaper, which happened to be the first English language paper, and was published for the English speaking community which at this stage comprised Irish, English and Scottish immigrants.

Another flow of immigrants arrived in the 1860s, bringing names like Ryan, McCormick, Mullally and Casey. The arrivals of the 1860s, like the post famine inflow of the 1840s, tended to be more strongly nationalistic. Such an attitude led to the foundation of another English language paper, *The Southern Cross*. An interesting picture of the Irish community in Argentina appeared in the first *Southern Cross* (16 January 1875), which stated:

'In no part of the world is the Irishman more esteemed and

respected than in the Province of Buenos Aires, and in no part of the world, in the same space of time have Irish settlers made such large fortunes. The Irish population in the Republic may have set down at 26,000 souls. They possess in this province 200 leagues of land or 1,800 miles or 1,500,000 acres. Almost all of this land is of the very best quality. They own about 5,000,000 sheep and thousands are worth 5,000,000 sterling. This vast fortune has been acquired in a few years" (*Southern Cross*, 16 January 1875, as cited in Nally, 1992:4).

In the 1880s, a further influx came from Ireland, many of whom came to join an earlier generation of relatives. The 1875-1890 period saw the emergence of a good number of educational institutions, owned and managed by the Irish community: Newman College, St. Brendan's College and St Brigid's College (Nally, 1992). Soon the Irish Catholic Association was formed and Irish clubs were organised in Buenos Aires and Mercedes. By the 1890s, the opportunities for new immigrants became rather limited. The sheep industry was declining, as cattle and tillage were taking over. The decline in the sheep trade brought upon a marked decline in Irish immigration, as sheep-breeding had always

been the goldmine for Irish emigrants. Nevertheless, the Irish who had come to our country decided to stay; they were, after all, country people with agricultural skills, who adapted easily to farming life in the great Pampas of Argentina.

Today there are about 350,000 Argentines of Irish descent (Nally, 1992). Their strong presence, as has already been stated, has kept some of their traditions intact, and has been central to the life of Argentinians –both in the rural and the urban areas. The cultural legacy of the Irish, which is looked upon with respect by most Argentinians, can still be felt, and is the result of a community whose behaviour was one of sharing and belonging rather than one of intruding upon a new culture and leaving.

SECTION 3: ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN ARGENTINA

3.1.- THE EARLY DAYS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

The beginnings

The teaching of English in Argentina does not boast the presence of many authors who have taken a serious interest in its history. Amongst the very few authors who have provided detailed accounts of the most significant developments in the field stands the still unsung figure of Roberto Raufet, whose text *Enseñanza de Inglés en la Argentina* (1963) can safely be regarded as one of the most extensive and exhaustive explorations, and will therefore be largely quoted in this section.

The author states that it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that we can seriously refer to the formal teaching of foreign

languages in Argentina. However, some English is said to have unsystematically been taught by 'nannies' (Cibotti, 2006). Yet, Raufet (1963) dates the official beginning of foreign language teaching as parallel to the growth of trade between the Viceroyalty of the River Plate and other nations. –it is generally felt that the needs springing from commerce (whether legal or illegal), must have included a new interest in foreign languages.

As regards Spain, Juan María Gutiérrez's *Orígenes y Desarrollo de la Enseñanza Pública en Buenos Aires* (written in 1868 and published in 1915) affirms that our "mother land" made no efforts to encourage the *criollos'* interest in the study of the languages of other peoples for fear that there might be some unwanted or even dangerous contact with other European powers. However, the newspaper *El Telégrafo Mercantil* (8 October 1801), in a praising article about *Las Porteñas*, mentioned, as an asset of their schooling, the fact that many young ladies in Buenos Aires were taught the Spanish language, together with some French and English, which they used for the purposes of translation. This last remark clearly implies the presence of native, near-native or proficient speakers of French and English teaching the two languages in those days.

It was in the days of the May Revolution of 1810 that "living languages" slowly became a mild concern among *criollos*. This might have been a consequence, Raufet (1963) observes, of the 1806-1807 English invasions of the River Plate region, of the growing freedom of commerce and of the Revolution itself. In reference to these days, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento addressed Congress on 1 May 1860 in these terms:

[...] French is much more familiar to [the people] than English, which is perhaps to be regretted; French revolutionary politics has been proved by experience to be unsafe. The writings of Franklin, the Federalist and other American works are frequently quoted; but, in general, even the best English and American production find their way through the medium of French translations. The English language is, however, beginning of late to be much more attended to than formerly. There are in circulation translations of our best revolutionary writings" (Sarmiento, 1937: 74)

In 1817, the secretary of an American mission to Argentina stated that, at that time, French was better known to the local inhabitants than the English language. However, other members of the same mission could perceive that English was slowly gaining ground, given the number of books written in that language that he could see in Buenos Aires (Raufet, 1963).

Gutiérrez (1868/1915) remarks that it is not possible to accurately determine when the teaching of modern languages became officially institutionalised, as many documents seem to have been lost. However, there was a John Richmond who, in 1813, offered his services in *La Gaceta Ministerial*, which included tuition in English and Spanish, as well as the translation of documents of all kinds (Raufet, 1963). This gentleman could very well have been the first English-speaking professional to offer professional services as a teacher of English. If there had been another English-born foreigner who preceded him, Raufet says, such presence would not have been at all surprising, especially after the English invasions.

Modern languages in our schools

The year 1818 saw the opening of Colegio de la Santa Unión del Sud, which replaced Colegio San Carlos. It was at Santa Unión that the first lessons in modern languages were taught. Mr Vicente Vigil was appointed teacher of the area, which included English French and Italian. This gentleman has been reputed to have been the first teacher of foreign languages in our official schools.

In 1820, a Mr Alejo Ribes publicly announced that he would formally open an academy to teach young men to speak and write English and French. In January 1821, an organisation called Corporación del Consulado was resolved to open a teaching academy that would impart knowledge of the English language and of trade-related subjects. On the other hand, Mrs Isabel Hyne's official application to open a 'School of English, Music, Embroidery and Sewing' suggests that well-to-do young ladies were by no means left aside of this growing concern.

In the domain of the University of Buenos Aires, the first official 'chair' of English as a foreign language was opened in April 1826, and was given to an American citizen, a graduate from Princeton University, New Jersey. This gentleman also ran his own language academy. Raufet (1963) observes that it should be noted that in those days, all university

foreign language courses were optional, and that French was far more popular than English. These courses finally became compulsory in 1828.

In the year 1825 the Friendship, Trade and Navigation Treaty was signed by the English-speaking community and the Buenos Aires city authorities. This was mostly due to the significant social influence of that community, which dated from the days of the English invasions. This gave rise to the foundation of several English schools, mainly devoted to the education of the sons of the 3,500 British residents in Buenos Aires. At that time, many Argentine families also decided to send their boys to those institutions.

The period that ended with the battle of Caseros in 1852 saw the creation of several schools in the city, such as Colegio Republicano Federal, Colegio de Buenos Aires and Academia Porteño-Federal. It is a known fact that, at least the first two ran courses of English and French. In August 1852, the first public contest was held for the English, French and Latin Chairs at the University. On 1 September, and Mr Gilberto Ransay was officially appointed holder of the English chair (Raufet, 1963).

The teaching of modern languages was not confined to the city of Buenos Aires as, in the different Argentine provinces, there existed records of institutes and schools that held courses in 'living languages' (Raufet, 1963). In Mendoza, the first official courses of this kind began after the implementation of Governor Juan C. Moyano's 'Plan de Lenguas Vivas' in 1868. Corrientes' Colegio Argentino began running English and French courses in 1863, under director Antonio Zinny. Catamarca's Colegio Nacional taught courses of English, French and German, and its curricular design was modelled after Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires (Fernández, 1903). In Salta, Colegio de la Independencia (1847-1854) held French and English courses. Fernández (1903) remarks that this school served as a model for most of other modern language curricular designs in Argentina.

Córdoba saw the birth of modern language courses in 1815 with the first course in French grammar. The Monserrat School designed a curriculum years later, in 1864, which included French for the first two years of study, and English for the last two. In Tucumán, the first evidence of the teaching of modern languages can be traced to the second foundation of Colegio de San Miguel de Tucumán in 1858. On

the other hand, there are not many documents about the birth of foreign language teaching in Entre Ríos, except for a few reports written by the director of Colegio Nacional de Uruguay to the Minister of Education, who mentioned, in passing, the teaching of 'English or French'. By the same token, no information exists about the prestigious Colegio de la Inmaculada Concepción de Santa Fe. Later on, courses in English and French were known to have been held regularly at those schools (Raufet, 1963).

Early textbooks

The textbooks used to teach modern languages supply an invaluable source of information that is worth mentioning. Gutiérrez (1868/1915) presents a list of twelve basic titles concerning primary and secondary education, four of which are directly related to the teaching of English as a foreign language. The first of these appeared in 1825 under the auspices of Imprenta Hallet. The cover tells us that it is an *English Grammar for Speakers of Spanish* (Gramática Inglesa para el Uso de los que Poseen el Español). It is a small quarto edition of 81 pages. Its authorship can be attributed to a Mr Teófilo Parvin, who may have used the text in his own language academy. The preface states that this work

results from the impossibility to obtain a sufficiently large number of English grammar books on the local market. The author remarks that he would have liked to defer the publication of this text until his own personal command of Spanish was more thorough, but he adds that the situation calls for the urgent publishing of this book. The writer admits that, far from being a complete compilation, his text contains the most important grammar rules of the English language. Raufet (1963) observed that this work is of no didactic value; yet, it deserves the credit of having been the first local English grammar.

In 1851 a second book appeared, which was meant for learners of English who attended the various schools and academies in the country. It was the *Introducción a la Conversación Inglesa para el Uso de las Escuelas* (Introduction to English Conversation for Use at Schools). It was published by La Gaceta Mercantil's printing shop, and was a quarto publication of 48 pages. The third book mentioned by Gutiérrez (1868/1915) appeared in 1847: *Rudimentos del Idioma Inglés o Introducción a la Gramática Inglesa para el Uso de los Principiantes* (Rudiments of the English Language or Introduction to English Grammar for Beginners). It was printed by Imprenta Argentina and is of unknown authorship. Gutiérrez (1868/1915) states that its author could

have been a Dr José Pitra, and it was a quarto edition of 48 pages. The fourth book on Gutiérrez's list dates from 1860, it has 128 pages and its curious title is *Primario Inglés de Monosílabos* (Elementary English of Monosyllables), published by La Revista. To Gutiérrez's list, Raufet (1963) adds another title: *El Nuevo Vocabulario Inglés* (The New English Vocabulary), published in instalments, of unknown authorship. As was the case with the previous texts, no copy has been found, but its existence is acknowledged by La Gaceta Mercantil in May 1847.

The National Reorganisation period

The period that extends from Rosas' downfall and 1865 was devoted to the reorganisation of the Argentine nation in all its possible areas. The implementation and propagation of primary education was of utmost importance to most policy-makers of the time, in charge of setting the country back on its feet. The prestigious Colegio Nacional de la Capital was founded in 1863, modelled after Colegio y Seminario de Ciencias Morales, which also enjoyed great prestige and popularity. The teaching of modern languages was already an integral part of the official curriculum by then. Nobody questioned its importance any more in those days (Raufet, 1963).

In the period that followed, public instruction was a major concern in Argentina, and this, of course, included the teaching of foreign languages. During this period, the focus was no longer set on whether or not to teach modern languages, but on how to do it. In the second half of the nineteenth century, pedagogues and policy-makers began timidly discussing the possible advantages of what later on would serve as the basis of the future Direct Method (Raufet, 1963): now stress was very gradually being laid on the learners' capacity to use the foreign language actively, and on the priority of the speaking skill over writing. However, the ability to translate was, of course, not set aside for the time being. Although we cannot say that these days saw the birth of the Direct Method, some sparks of its future rationale were beginning to appear.

The most important problem area was the training of local teachers that might be able to develop oral skills actively and successfully. Moreover, nobody had by then thought that the teaching of a foreign language could entail anything above and beyond the mere act of being a user or a skilled speaker of that language. This meant that when teachers of modern languages were faced with methodological problems, the

logical choice to turn to for help was, of course, the teacher of Latin. These practitioners were oblivious to the fact that the teaching of classical languages was a far cry from the new emphasis on the learner's oral production.

It should be noted that these 'pedagogic lines of action', as it were, never disregarded the vital importance of translation. Nevertheless, we can perceive a very smooth transition from a basic Grammar-Translation method to a new vision of foreign language teaching. As time went by, and in harmony with ideas imported from European countries (Raufet, 1963) a new awareness emerged, and this could be seen in the complaints put forth by several 'national examiners', who reported on the lack of fluency found in foreign language learners on a nation-wide scale: the Ollendorf Method, which prioritised translation over all other skills, was slowly gaining more foes than friends.

The birth of teacher education

The year 1870 stands as a landmark in the history of teaching in Argentina, as the then Minister of education, Marcos Avellaneda, took

on board some concepts previously expressed by U. Hankook (Director of Education of Cincinnati, USA):

It is necessary that teachers be trained in special institutions, given that s/he is the key agent around whom most other institutions revolve. The most ingenious methods, the most complete programmes of study, no matter their philosophical orientation, will not yield any results unless the state has the right institutions to put them into practice (Avellaneda, M., 1870, as cited in Raufet, 1963: 66).

It could be reasonably argued that the minister's main concern was primary instruction. Nonetheless, these ideas were also valid for secondary education. Therefore, this seems to have actively paved the way for the creation of teacher training institutions.

In 1874, the first Escuelas Normales (teachers' schools) were created (Raufet, 1963). This was only one step away from the founding of training colleges for prospective secondary school teachers ('Institutos Preparatorios de Profesores de Enseñanza Media'). It was then agreed that these future institutions should also incorporate the area of foreign

language teaching. It was indeed made explicit that the person who would teach modern languages was to receive his/her training in local institutions, as it was deemed essential that these future professionals be steeped in the culture to which his/her prospective learners belonged. In fact, the first time that an educational authority referred to the particular case of foreign language teaching was in 1877; that was when the headmaster of Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires, J. M. de Estrada, suggested the creation of an "Escuela Normal" (Teacher Training school) to train teachers for Colegios Nacionales (national secondary schools), and openly expressed his concern that such institutions should include the area of foreign languages and their respective literature.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, many an educational authority still complained about the poor results of the methods used to teach foreign languages. These approaches were regarded as highly deficient, as teachers seemed to over-rely on their learners' memory (Raufet, 1963). It is in the 1890s that pedagogues began to discuss the communicative value of a foreign language, as translation continued to have pride of place among the activities in which the learners were engaged, together with the memorisation of grammar rules. Raufet cites

multiple reports written by examiners, school authorities and pedagogues about the urgent need to steer the teaching of modern languages towards a communicative goal. Although no such concept emerged as a new full-fledged methodology, all the documents reviewed by the author seem to indicate that the time was ripe for a major change in the area. The end of the nineteenth century did not bring tangible solutions to the pedagogic problem in question, but it did bring a clear perception of the problems to be solved in the short term.

3.2.- ELT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The emergence of the 'Direct Method'

Indeed, the new century began with renewed hope and optimism as regards what the future could have in store for a young nation, ready to face a challenging world. State education had been and still was a top priority among educational authorities and politicians, and the teaching of modern languages had gained considerable momentum, mostly owing to books and articles coming from abroad, enthusiastically

advocating the new way of looking at language teaching: the Direct Method. This approach was directly anchored in a basic principle of what was then called 'living philology', that is, the analysis of living languages (as opposed to classical languages): "Any study of a language, be it theoretical or practical, should be based on the spoken language" (Sweet, 1899: 4). In the year 1900 the new Direct Method can be said to have arrived in Argentina.

One of the most important aspects in the application of this method was the careful attention devoted to pronunciation. The sounds of the foreign language were studied one by one and contrasted with those of the learner's native language. Phonetics was practically born as a full-fledged scientific discipline together with the new Direct Method (Raufet, 1963). The founders of this historic Reform Movement immediately took on board the new findings that phonetics might supply. In Direct Method lessons, the International Phonetic Alphabet proved to be an invaluable instrument that was used to reduce the difficulties that the learner might encounter in his/her effort to speak the language (Palmer, 1920).

However, some institutions still relied on the old Grammar-Translation method. In the year 1902, educational inspector Pablo Pizzurno submitted his report to the Minister of Education. In it, he remarked:

[...] it is a known fact that when students leave their school, foreign languages become only a faint memory of long and boring hours devoted to learning, as they do in the case of their own language, of grammar definitions, rules and exceptions, words and loose phrases. It is an exceptional case to see a student understand (let alone speak or write) a conversation in French or English with only the linguistic stock learnt at school. Most of the students cannot even read to advantage any work written in those languages (Pizzurno, P. 1900, as cited in Raufet, 1963: 111).

The year 1903 saw the birth of the first college of education entirely devoted to the training of future teachers of foreign languages. In effect, Minister Ramón Fernández decided to create the Profesorado en Lenguas Vivas, which now bears the minister's name. This institution offered training courses in English, French, Italian and German for "student-teachers" between 12 and 20 years of age.

In 1904 V.A. de Saint Joseph, teacher of Colegio Nacional de la Capital published his *Método Directo de Idioma Inglés* (Direct Method for the English Language). This was the first time, Raufet (1963) observes, that the term 'Direct Method' appeared in the title of a text devoted to the teaching of a foreign language in our country. Its author certainly had foreseen the importance of the new method that would later on revolutionise the teaching of foreign languages in the first part of the twentieth century, and which the new Minister of Education, Dr Joaquín V. González, would emphatically endorse in his curriculum design for official schools.

González, head of the Ministry of Education, apart from creating the University of La Plata, signed the decree whereby the Instituto Nacional Superior del Profesorado Secundario (National Institute for the Training of Secondary School Teachers) saw the light in 1904. This new institution only had a few departments at first, but this small number increased later on, to finally include all the subject areas of the Argentine secondary school curriculum. The English department was created in the year 1911, and since then, it has been a leading force concerning the teaching of English as a foreign language in Argentina.

The *Instituto* hired a German professor as head of the new section: Dr Theodor Erbe, a graduate from Prussia, who had also completed postgraduate studies at Oxford. When Dr Erbe's administration was interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War, his seminal work materialised as the first book on the teaching of English to be published in our country, and which came out some time after his departure: *Didáctica y Metodología de la Enseñanza del Inglés* (Didactics and Methodology of the Teaching of English) (Raufet, 1963).

ELT continued to flourish all over the country during the years that followed and, in November 1927, we can find the next important landmark in its history: the creation of Asociación Argentina de Cultura Inglesa (AACI), an institution founded by a group of Argentine and British gentlemen, aiming to foster the propagation of the English language and culture in our country. Its creation was originally the idea of British Ambassador Sir Malcolm Robertson, apparently at the suggestion of a young English language teacher: Josefina Molinelli Wells (Ottino, 2003). The success of the *Asociación* was immediate: its classrooms were soon full of enthusiastic students and its English courses yielded highly promising results every year. Never before had

an institution devoted to teaching English enjoyed such prestige and popularity.

Some months after the creation of AACI, the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano (commonly referred to as ICANA), the US counterpart of AACI, was founded, also devoted to the teaching of the English language and the diffusion of American culture. Both AACI and ICANA have always had a reputation of being reliable places where learning is guaranteed through the work of qualified professionals.

Little by little, in the years to come, many national and private universities created their modern languages departments, and began training prospective teachers, in the hope that the quality of the English language teaching profession in Argentina might be of excellence and marked by constant improvement. After the Second World War, in the early 1950s, the new scientific advances in the field of psychology and pedagogy paved the way for new methods, based on such emerging theories as behaviourism and other subsequent models. The large investment made by Great Britain in the new-born field of Applied Linguistics in the mid-1950s (Phillipson, 1992) gave ELT renewed impetus, as English became the most popular foreign language to be

learned at and outside school in our country, a phenomenon that was also fuelled by the growing role of the United States in the region (Rock, 1985).

3.3.- ELT NOW

The general picture today

English language teaching in Argentina has diversified into a number of sectors, each of which has its particular characteristics. It is extremely difficult, if not almost impossible, to review the activity following any of the standard models which inform a particular 'state of the art', given that there are practically no materials that have systematically described the evolution of the profession in the present day. In other words, nobody seems to have followed the steps of Roberto Raufet in his effort to detail the development of ELT in our country, which he reviewed up to the year 1963.

For the purpose of the present study, we will mostly review and cite the numerous articles and editorials written by Omar Villarreal and Marina Kirac in their electronic publication *Share* ([www. shareeducation. com. ar](http://www.shareeducation.com.ar)). Over the last nine years, the authors have explored ELT-related activities, topics and events, to the extent that the entire corpus of their writing can be said to constitute both a longitudinal view of the teaching of English as a foreign language, and a cross-section of the salient moments through which the activity has gone in our local environment. This implies that a close exploration of the above authors in their almost two hundred issues can provide a both interesting and illuminating picture of ELT in Argentina in the last decade.

In our country people can take a variety of courses in English, apart from the compulsory segments that continue to form part of the areas of primary and secondary education. Outside school, people learn English at a variety of institutes, which, of course, can vary in type of service and goals. These institutes range from large organisations (lucrative or not-for-profit, with franchised centres or centres directly reporting to a head institute), to small-scale undertakings. Additionally, these alternatives can be found almost all over the country. It should be noted, however, that these English institutes (which have been locally

called 'culturass' for a long time now) enjoyed a period of blossoming prosperity in the 1960s and 1970s, and later on began to decline considerably, until new ventures were attempted or added on to the old projects, such as in-company courses, a recently developed entrepreneurial action which is proving successful. The marked slump of 'culturass' as the sites where people learned English outside school seems to be directly related to an increase in the offer of 'bilingual' or 'global language' schools (see *A word on bilingual education* below), which now run intensive courses in English (sometimes including some international examinations), together with the official primary and secondary curricula, and which has attracted the attention of a large part of the urban middle-class in recent years (Villarreal, 2005).

Teacher education today

The area of teacher education has changed considerably if we are to compare it with the pioneering days when Juan R. Fernández's ideas began to materialise. Teacher Education colleges now tend to offer a four-year course of studies for prospective teachers; the training offered fully validates the work of graduate teachers at secondary school level. A mid-course degree is often granted, usually upon completion of the

third year, enabling candidates to teach at primary school level. The courses of study vary in difficulty and complexity, and courses are held at universities (both national and private), as well as the more traditional –and far more difficult to class internationally (Villarreal and Kirac, 2003), still modelled after the early twentieth-century traditions of Escuelas Normales (teacher training schools) and their subsequent 'built-in' tertiary institutes designed to train future secondary school teachers.

A systemic pressure from official spheres, in the mid 1980s, to force tertiary college graduates to obtain a university degree prompted universities to offer post-graduate licenciaturas (often designed as a three- or four-term courses). These courses have become very popular of late and are offered by both national and private universities. Master's degree courses are beginning to emerge as well; these courses may grow in popularity among graduate teachers in the near future (Villarreal and Kirac, 2005, 2006).

In spite of the number of institutions providing courses of studies for prospective teachers, and the programming of development courses for graduate teachers, professional training in English continues being an

option rather than an obligation, as far as teaching is concerned, when we reckon the number of graduate and non-graduate people working as teachers. The number of professional teachers does not seem to be sufficient to cover all the positions vacant at schools on a nationwide basis; therefore, many institutions often rely on individuals who simply speak the language (to strikingly different degrees of accuracy and fluency) to teach their English courses.

A brief look into Villarreal and Kirac's (1999 through 2008) *Share* and other similar expert opinions may let us see that the reasons for this phenomenon are multifaceted. Firstly, the graduate teacher of English may pursue other perhaps more lucrative activities, such as private or in-company tuition or business translation, which might tempt him/her away from school teaching. Secondly, there has never existed a sufficiently restrictive or inhibitory legal framework (perhaps owing to the very existence of a manifest shortage) establishing the obligation to hire only graduate staff. Thirdly, the number of teacher colleges indeed seems to be insufficient in certain parts of Argentina, which makes it impossible to cover all vacancies at schools and other institutions. Fourthly, tradition and popular culture have it that any native speaker can be as good a teacher as a person who has gone through a four-

year course of studies, having probably sat more than thirty different courses to obtain a degree. As a result, many institutions running regular, in-company and even teachers' in-service courses sometimes prioritise the hiring of a back-packer –often even unschooled— tourist-turned-teacher over his/her Argentine counterpart, who holds a hard-earned degree.

The teaching of English in Argentina continues to flourish, although it is felt that many wrongs need to be righted, and many improvements need to be made. In our socio-historical setting, where the English language is practically a self-advertising easy-to-sell commodity and still a symbol of economic progress and personal achievement (Graddol, 1997; Crystal, 1997), we cannot hazard a negative or doomed forecast for this activity, although, as professionals, we cannot affirm that the present standards are the very best.

A word on bilingual education

If we are to trace the development of Argentine bilingual schools, one of the best and most complete reviews is that provided by Cristina Banfi and Raymond Day (2004) in their paper 'The Evolution of Bilingual

Schools in Argentina'. The authors contend that the label 'bilingual' has, at times, been applied rather loosely to some institutions, and that these schools have been transformed since they were founded in the nineteenth century, evolving from what could be termed Heritage Schools to Dual Language Schools and, of late, to a new form of bilingual education that the authors label the 'Global Language School'.

Banfi and Day (2004) remark that the evolution of Argentine bilingual schools is closely linked with the historical development of the country; These schools may be said to stem from a long-standing tradition that, besides having its origins in the private education sector, had been, at first at least, initiated around immigrant communities. The oldest surviving bilingual school, St Andrew's Scots School, was founded in 1838, but there are reports of other schools that were founded at this time which did not survive (Graham-Yooll, 2000, as cited in Day and Banfi, 2004). There exist also official reports that refer to similarly fated Italian and German schools (Puiggrós, 1996; Solari, 1972, as cited in Banfi and Day, 2004). These authors state that this situation greatly parallels what happened in the United States throughout the nineteenth century, when schools were organised by different ethnolinguistic groups. In Argentina, a considerable number of schools were founded

around the turn of the century coinciding with the largest waves of European immigration arriving in the country, and with specific projects, such as, for example, the building of a nation-wide railway system (Graham-Yooll, 2000, as cited in Day and Banfi, 2004). Heritage schools provided an integral education for the children of immigrants (or schooling for the immigrants themselves), and for those who were Argentine-born but had grown up within or near the immigrant community and had developed an interest for the English language.

After comparing the number of immigrants from different countries with the number of bilingual schools that each community boasted, Banfi and Day (2004) conclude that there is little correlation, as certain languages are over-represented, such as German, while others are practically non-existent, such as Polish. In a comparison between the Italian and English communities, we can find that the number of Italian bilingual schools is negligible in relation to the fact that 39% of foreigners in Argentina in 1914 were of Italian origin, compared to only 1% who were British. A hierarchy of languages cannot be denied, as some languages have been able to achieve the necessary status to have bilingual programmes, while others have been less lucky (Banfi and Day, 2004).

As immigration began to decline in the first half of the 20th century, the number of Argentine bilingual schools paradoxically increased. However, their student population significantly changed. In the authors' own words:

The situation reported at St Andrew's Scots School is a case in point: in 1939, out of 310 pupils enrolled, 21 were born in the British Empire, 66 were born in Argentina to two British parents, 68 were born in Argentina to one British parent and the remaining 155 were other nationalities, including Argentine (out of these, two-thirds were English-speaking, with British grandparents). As these figures reveal, the school had started incorporating non-English-speaking children and, at the same time, was experiencing loosening ties with the close-knit, homogeneous founding community, altered by intermarriage and generational separation with the original immigrants [...]. As they evolved, Argentine bilingual schools had to adapt to the reality of this changing student population and situation. In some respect, this stage can be described in terms of Dual Language Programmes [...] in the sense that

there was a combination of language minority and language majority children in different proportions at different stages, but gradually tending towards an increase in majority language children (Banfi and Day, 2004: 403).

With the passing of time, what the authors call the shift from a Heritage to a Dual-language model was fuelled by the decline of European immigration and the increase in the number of bilingual schools. At the end of the twentieth century, therefore, most bilingual schools had students whose home language was Spanish and whose goal was learning a foreign language at school. At this point, the authors remark that there is evidence that English seems to be the language generally chosen by parents for their children's education, as "it is regarded as more easily available as a language of instruction in possible future destinations as well as a language of opportunity for the future development of those children" (Banfi and Day, 2004: 404).

At present, Banfi and Day (2004) contend that Argentine bilingual schools are changing from a 'dual-language' to a 'global language' model, and could very well be labelled 'Global Language Schools', in the sense that many of their characteristics may be closely tied to the

macro process of globalisation that the world has undergone during the last decade.

In the case of Heritage Schools, cultural roots could be easily identified and related to tradition. These ties seemed to weaken as the schools evolved and the context changed. In the authors' view, these educational institutions "now aim to provide a broad educational programme that prepares children to take part in the decision-making stratum of a globalised world" (Banfi and Day, 2004: 405).

Textbooks today

Rob Francis (2000) provides an interesting insight into the publishing business, which is an integral part of the present situation of ELT in Argentina and the rest of the world. Although his paper deals with global trends, particular attention is given to the Latin American picture we can see today. The author states that Latin America had been providing much of the growth for ELT publishers over the past few years; however, the economic downturns in Brazil and Argentina have proved quite problematic in the area. Oxford University Press (OUP) believed in

2000 that the next couple of years would be difficult in Argentina, as the lack of parental funds clearly affected schoolbooks purchasing.

The author reports that, while most observers felt that the market was still growing by the turn of the century, the view from OUP is that the next five years would not be as strong as the previous five to ten years or so. Macmillan Heinemann ELT agreed that the rate of growth could not match that of four or five years before. Indeed, the previous five years had seen a radical concentration in the ownership of ELT publishing. In early 1995, there were at least nine publishers active in the area (some US-owned). Since then, Pearson Education has taken overall market leadership through merger and acquisition. To the original Longman imprint were added Addison Wesley, Nelson, Scott Foresman and Prentice-Hall. As most of these lists were American in origin, Pearson Education now seems to have a dominant position in the US, Latin American and Asian markets.

Francis (2000) remarks that Pearson Education, OUP, Macmillan Heinemann ELT and CUP dominated the global market at the end of the twentieth century. Santillana was a strong contender in Spain and in Latin America. As far as this case is concerned, Santillana set up a UK-

based ELT publishing unit called Richmond Publishing to make use of the ELT authorship, editorial and design expertise that had developed in the UK. In Greece, the local publishers (Grivas, Express, Hillside and others) have more than a 50% share of the ELT market. Having hit a market ceiling in Greece, Express Publishers embarked on an export drive and has already had some success overseas.

While almost everyone agrees that there is real potential in the new electronic media to aid language learning, the author admits that this new technology has had little effect on the school ELT market up to now. Book-based teaching and learning is still the norm, and audio-cassettes and video are still the essential ingredients in the package for a successful course. CD-ROMs are increasingly being developed as part of this overall package, but mostly for marketing purposes. Many teachers, Francis (2000) contends, demand that a course include a CD-ROM, but hardly ever use it in the classroom.

The situation is somehow different in the case of courses for adults, where screen-based learning is slowly becoming accepted as an effective method. Although there has not been a really successful screen-based self-study product sold worldwide, different companies

are launching new products and expect to continue to build their market share in the private language school and corporate training markets. Additionally, many people in the business believe that the greatest threat to the traditional, very profitable, adult ELT coursebook market will come from the "guided self-study" method. This provides to be an indeed flexible approach, suitable for business people, given that it blends home study with professional tutorials and conversation classes in a classroom environment.

Over the last twenty years or so, a number of significant shifts have taken place in the global value chain for ELT publishing and distribution. The leading publishers have gradually been forced to publish schoolbooks especially tailored for a given national curriculum, which required them to operate like a local publisher. One central element associated to this phenomenon lies in the need to keep local warehousing and supply so that the publisher can control local pricing, marketing, supply service levels and create closer links with the customer. In the light of the above, OUP, Pearson Education and Macmillan Heinemann ELT have had to set up companies in most of the important ELT markets in Latin America, using the so-called "mark-up" on importation to fund the extra costs of warehousing and

marketing. Traditional importers in countries such as Turkey, Brazil and Argentina have been severely affected, in that they have lost this mark-up on importation, but the better-managed ELT distributor seems to have responded well, as some companies realised that the exchange risk has now passed to the ELT publisher and have either established themselves as national or regional distributors, or entered the ELT publishing world themselves (Francis, 2000).

As is the case with any educational publishing undertaking, the central decision-maker is the teacher, so quality and appropriateness are the most crucial factors in the effort to obtain a new adoption of materials in a given school. However, as there have been no significant developments in ELT methodology over the past five years, it is becoming more and more difficult to differentiate products themselves. Consequently, the author believes that marketing and distribution are now crucial factors for success at both global and local levels.

Francis (2000) concludes that, as with many other areas of educational publishing, success in ELT publishing is now dependent on size and scale. It calls for the investment of millions of pounds in the creation of new intellectual property, the capacity to manage the very best talents

in the world, the need to keep up with the latest technological advances, the need to manage and motivate a large and diverse sales team, and to ensure that the products are available to the customers at the right price and the right time. In their effort to protect their margins, the leading ELT publishing companies will exert their pressure on all parts of the value chain—authors, wholesalers, retailers, and manufacturers and other suppliers. But they will also find plenty of competition everywhere, including some interesting new entrants. The author finally states that it will be those companies that can satisfy the needs of customers in a user-friendly, cost-effective way who will be the market leaders of the future.

As can be clearly seen in Francis' (2000) review, the world of publishing is a key stake-holder in the life of ELT all over the world, bringing in pressure on schools, teachers and, therefore, learners. Interestingly, in his report we can see a clear British domination over this crucial area, whether it is exerted by English companies, or by European companies coming directly under British supervision. Although it would not be fair to state that the US share of the market is at all negligible, the British presence is still felt to be paramount.

SECTION 4: THE PRESENT STUDY

The study consisted of two questionnaires given (as already explained) to two different groups. Questionnaire 1 was completed in September 2007 by a sample of one hundred (100) non-professional men and women with secondary education, but with no specialised or formal education in English other than that offered by state-run schools, private institutes or private teachers (henceforth called Group 1). Questionnaire 2 was administered to a group of one hundred (100) English language teachers (henceforth called Group 2) in August 2007.

4.1.- QUESTIONNAIRE 1

The first questionnaire was distributed among one hundred (100) middle-class male and female respondents living in Buenos Aires and nearby cities (Group 1), all adults over twenty years of age, and, as already said, with no specialised or formal education in English. The survey was intended to elicit information about their perception of the two varieties of English (mostly British and American) through a set of

direct questions and a listening-based elicitation inquiry (see Appendix 1).

Introductory questions

The two options (offered by the first introductory question) were aimed firstly to determine two major age groups; and secondly, to explore the possible incidence of age on socio-cultural influences and the perception of varieties of English. The options were:

- a.- Between 20 and 45 years of age, and
- b.- more than 45 years of age.

The second introductory question simply intended to elicit the sex of the respondents:

- a.- Male
- b.- Female

Question 1

The third was a yes-no question, and it meant to determine if the respondent spoke English.

Question 2

This question was also of the yes-no type and it meant to determine if the respondent had ever studied English systematically.

Question 3

The third question was aimed to obtain information about the institution where the respondent had studied English, if s/he had ever studied English at all.

Question 4

In this particular question, the respondent was asked if s/he might be able to detect or recognise British or American or any other variety of English, for example in English-subtitled films on the market. This was a yes-no question.

Question 5

The fifth question was intended to elicit the variety of English that the respondent perceived could be more easily understood than others, the options were:

- a.- British English
- b.- American English
- c.- Any other variety that the respondent might wish to mention.

Question 6

This was an open question, and it was intended to determine the reason for the answer to the previous question.

Question 7

This open question was aimed to obtain information as to what the respondent understood by the phrase “verdadero inglés” (“true English”).

Question 8

The final instruction of this questionnaire was simply intended to measure the respondent's perception of differences between varieties of English. The people surveyed were asked to listen to two recordings of two minutes each. The first sample was an extract from Francis Ford Coppola's film *Apocalypse Now* (USA, 1979), and it consisted of a short soliloquy by the American actor Marlon Brando towards the end of the story. The second recording was taken from Danny Boyle's film *Trainspotting* (England, 1996), and it featured a conversation of a group of boys in London. Three external raters were called upon to verify the varieties of English to be presented to the respondents, and all of them agreed that the first recording showed a sample of educated American English, while the second presented informal, uneducated varieties of current use in Great Britain.

In both cases the options given to the respondents were:

- a.- British, and
- b.- American

4.2.- QUESTIONNAIRE 2

The second questionnaire surveyed Argentine teachers (henceforth called Group 2) about the variety of English used by them and their students, as well as the variety usually that they thought was taught or imposed upon at teacher training colleges in our country. Additionally, the respondents were asked questions about the origin of overseas media stimuli Argentine people are frequently exposed to and about the country perceived as influential on the Argentine socio-cultural sphere (see Appendix 2). This survey was conducted in Spanish, in the course of an international convention for teachers of English in the city of Buenos Aires.

Question 1

The first question was intended to determine the age group of the learners usually taught by the respondents. This was thought to be an interesting piece of information in order to explore the correlation

between learning groups and demands for a given variety of English.

The options were

a.- Children and teenagers

b.- Adults

Question 2

The second question was aimed to elicit the variety of English regularly used by the ELT practitioner. The intention was to delve into the linguistic and educational background of the teachers surveyed, as transmitters of a given variety of English within a socio-cultural environment. Here the options were:

a.- American English

b.- British English

c.- Irish English

d.- Any other variety that the respondent might wish to mention.

Question 3

The second question was meant to obtain information as to the perceived reason why the variety mentioned above was used, and more than one option could be chosen. The rationale behind this question was establishing the relationship between the teacher's educational background and the classroom demand in favour of one particular variety. The options to be selected were:

- a.- "the above variety was taught to them at teacher training college or in courses for teachers",
- b.- "the above variety had been taught to them since early childhood", and
- c.- "the above variety had been adopted by them for professional reasons".

It should be noted that training college was not the only possibility offered because the questionnaire did not specifically ask the respondents whether or not they were graduate teachers, as this was not felt to be of relevance to the study.

Question 4

This question was aimed to elicit the variety of English that the respondents perceived is used by Argentine teachers of that language. The proposed rationale had to do with the degree of awareness that the teacher might have with regard to teacher education in Argentina and the variety of English currently taught. The options were:

- a.- American English
- b.- British English
- c.- Irish English
- d.- Any other variety that the respondent might wish to mention.

Question 5

The fifth question addressed the variety of English that they perceived was usually chosen by Argentine students when they learn the English language. This question was intended to delve into the teacher's awareness of existing demands on the part of the learners and/or clients. The varieties to select were:

- a.- American English

- b.- British English
- c.- Irish English
- d.- Any other variety that the respondent might wish to mention.

Question 6

This question was intended to elicit the perceived variety of English in use in the majority of the foreign (English-spoken) media-related stimuli reaching the Argentine population (those present on television, in films, on the Internet, and in other channels of communication). The ultimate aim of this question was to explore the surveyed teacher's degree of media awareness, that is to say, the perceptions they had of the socio-cultural factors possibly influencing their environment. The options were:

- a.- American
- b.- British
- c.- Irish
- d.- Any other variety that the respondent might wish to mention.

Question 7

The last question in this set was specifically designed for the respondents to mention the country that they perceived exerted the strongest economic and political influence on Argentina. The reason for this question, which might seem to be rather detached from the rest, was to test the practitioners' awareness of foreign influences that might, or might not, have some bearing on the variety of English chosen for their English language class. No options were given, and the respondents were free to mention any one country.

SECTION 5: RESULTS

5.1.- RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE 1

This questionnaire was administered in several sessions both in the city of Buenos Aires and in the Greater Buenos Aires area during the month of September of 2007. Group 1 respondents were obviously residents in the areas above mentioned. The set of questions and the accompanying recordings had been piloted one month before by the experimenter and five mock surveyees. After this pre-test, the five respondents provided the experimenter with their feedback, and the experimenter introduced some changes accordingly. In general, most of the changes made were related to word choice in the framing of the questions: when questions were not felt to be clear enough for the actual respondents to answer with ease, they were checked at once.

This first inquiry had *two introductory questions* about sex and age. As regards the former, the question was only pro-forma, as 50% were males and 50% were females, as had been originally planned. With

respect to age, 64% of the respondents were between 20 and 45 years of age, while 36% were over 45.

Question 1

The first formal question asked the respondents whether they spoke English: 35% stated that they spoke English, and 65% said that they did not. The subgroup of respondents who claimed that they indeed spoke the language was made up of 18 (36%) of the 50 male respondents, and 17 (34%) of the female group (see table 1).

Table 1: Who speaks English?

		Total	Percentages
RESPONDENTS	Male	50	36% claimed they spoke English
			64% said they did not speak English
	Female	50	34% claimed they spoke English
			66% said they did not speak English

There is an interesting impressionistic detail that is worth mentioning: as a large number of those who had stated that they spoke English, almost simultaneously, suggested that they spoke the language to some degree, others confessed that they spoke only a little English, yet they had replied that they could speak the language. Therefore, "speaking English" should be taken to mean here that the respondents who chose that option can be placed on the spectrum presumably going from "speaking only a little" to "speaking fluently".

Question 2

When asked whether or not they had studied the English language systematically, that is, outside school (where English is a subject), 54% of the respondents answered affirmatively, while 44% stated that they had not done so. The use of the word "systematically" created some difficulties when the questionnaire was piloted in August 2007; the five interviewees called upon to answer the questionnaire suggested that the term was not clear, because in Argentina almost everybody has 'English' as a regular subject at school, and such a stance implies considering English systematic (a subject which is part of the system) or

capable of being systematically implemented. Therefore, the parenthetical remark ("outside or apart from school") was added here, independently of the fact that some did choose the 'yes' option when asked if they spoke English after only having studied the language at state school.

Question 3

This question was intended to elicit information as to where they had studied the English language, if they had ever studied the language at all. Again, the piloting of the questionnaire yielded some dubious results as to the reliability of the question, as it had originally been designed to comprehend all types of English courses, included those of the official curriculum. However, the format suggested that answering this question was restricted only to those who had answered the previous question affirmatively. Therefore, a note was added prior to the implementation of the questionnaire, to let the respondents know that the question was to be answered in general, and included all courses taken, thus not limiting the sample to any previous reply or choice.

The answers to this question did not show great fluctuations, although there are marked intersection areas, given that the respondents could mention more than one possibility. 83% of the people surveyed stated that they had learned English in their secondary education; 30% said that they had had English as a subject in their primary schooling; 26% stated that they had taken courses in private institutes; finally, 19% mentioned having taken lessons with a private teacher. Crossed data processing does not seem relevant at this stage, although a tendency can be observed: primary school experience with English was almost entirely mentioned by the younger generations. This might be due to the fact that English, especially in some schools in the city of Buenos Aires, was made to form part of the official primary school curriculum more than thirty years ago.

Question 4

When asked to complete *Question 4*, an amazing majority of the respondents (87%) claimed that they were able to discriminate between British and American English, for example, when they see a subtitled film in English. Only 17% of the people surveyed said they could not do so. Curiously enough, 50 of the 87 respondents who claimed they might

tell varieties apart had previously stated that they did not speak English at all (57.47% of the mentioned subgroup). 31 of these 87 people (35.63% of the subgroup) had previously stated that they had not had any systematic study of the English language.

Questions 6 and 7

Question 5 aimed to elicit a preferred variety --British or American English. Not very surprisingly 82% chose British English, while only 12% chose the American variety. No other option was provided. When asked, in *Question 6*, to provide the reason for their response to *Question 5*, the responses showed a wide variety of reasons, as this was an open question and the respondents could give more than one reason. Of the subgroup who chose British English as their preferred variety, 46 mentioned "clarity" as the main reason, 16 stated that British English is spoken "more slowly" than the other variety, 8 remarked that British pronunciation is "better" than its American counterpart, 7 suggested that they usually had "more exposure" to that variety in films and songs, 5 said that British English was the variety that was "usually taught", 4 stated that it was the "traditional variety", 3 suggested that it had had "no foreign influence", another 3 stated that British English is

"more widely known" than American English, a group of 3 said that they were "used to it" and 1 stated that British English was the variety they had been taught at school (see table 2).

Table 2: Preference for the British variety

	Reasons provided	Number of respondents	Percentages within subgroup
Respondents who chose British English (82% of the whole group)	UK English is "clearer" than US English	46	56.09 %
	UK English is "spoken more slowly" than US English	16	19.51 %
	UK English is "pronounced better" than US English	8	9.75 %
	UK English "exposure (films, songs, etc.) is greater" than that of US English	7	8.53 %
	UK English is "more frequently taught" than US English	5	6.09 %
	UK English is more traditional than	4	4.84 %

	US English		
	UK English has "less foreign influences" than US English	3	3.63 %
	UK English is "more widely known" than US English	3	3.63 %
	We are more "used" to UK English than to US English	1	1.21 %
	UK English is the variety I have learnt	1	1.21 %

The subgroup that selected American English as their preference was much smaller than the other group; hence, it presented a less rich variety of reasons. Of these 12 people, 7 mentioned "exposure" to US English by watching films and listening to songs, 5 suggested USA as a more frequent "travel destination" than Great Britain, another 5 referred to the "clarity" of the American accent, 2 stated that it was the variety that they had learnt, 1 said that words are not abbreviated in American English, and another one suggested that American English is spoken more slowly than British English (see table 3).

Table 3: Preference for the American variety

	Reasons provided	Number of respondents	Percentages within subgroup
Respondents who chose American English (18% of the whole group)	UK English "exposure (films, songs, etc.) is greater" than that of US English	7	38.88 %
	USA is a "more frequent travel destination" than UK	5	27.77 %
	US English is "clearer" than UK English	5	27.77 %
	"US English is the variety I have learnt"	2	11.11 %
	US English has "fewer abbreviated forms" than UK English	1	5.55 %
	US English is "spoken more slowly" than UK English	1	5.55 %

Question 7

This question consisted in submitting to the people surveyed two recordings, each of two minutes in length (externally rated), one displaying American English, while the other featured British varieties. This question was directed only to those who had claimed that they were able to discriminate between British and American English. Asked to try and identify the varieties, 56 of the respondents clearly identified Brando's voice as American English, while 23 reported the actor as British. The case of the second recording was entirely different, as 71 of the 79 respondents identified the British boys talking in a London hotel as speakers of American English, and only 8 of this subgroup were able to detect that the accent was British.

When the experiment was piloted one month before implementing it, there was some doubt as to the difference in register between the British and the American samples. However, it was decided to keep the recordings as they had originally been planned and externally rated, as the respondent group would be especially selected as lacking in functional or specialist knowledge of the English language, and intelligibility was no central issue in the experiment.

From a purely impressionistic perspective, it may be worth mentioning that when the different sessions were conducted, the respondents made particular comments on the "r" sound of Brando, as being typically American, and some even imitated that sound. Conversely, the second recording proved to be somewhat baffling to the people surveyed, and many of them associated the "young" voices with informal American English. Conversely, many of those who thought that the second recording could indeed be British immediately suggested that this might be the speech of "colonial" groups living in England: they mentioned people of Indian or of Pakistani origin.

5.2.- RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE 2

This questionnaire was administered during the *2nd International SHARE Convention for Teachers of English*, held in August 2007 at Los Dos Chinos Hotel and Convention Centre in San Telmo, Buenos Aires. As over five hundred teachers attended the conference, it was not

difficult to circulate this questionnaire among one hundred teachers, who kindly agreed to complete it.

Question 1

As regards *Question 1*, 66% of Group 2 stated that they usually taught children and teenagers, while 56% of the same group said that their students were adults. This clearly means that there is an intersection subgroup of a 22% of these teachers, who affirmed that they regularly taught children, teenagers and adults.

Questions 2 and 3

Question 2 was about the type of English used by the respondents. In this regard, 76% of them stated that they spoke British English, 11% said that they used the American variety, only one of them said that s/he spoke Irish English, and 12% affirmed that they used a "blend" of American and British English. Asked about the reason why they used the mentioned varieties, 69% stated that it was the variety that they had been trained to use at teacher's college or in courses for teachers, 45% stated that they had been taught that variety since childhood, and 29%

said that the variety of English that they spoke had been adopted for professional reasons.

Interestingly, of the 11 teachers who said they spoke American English, 8 (72.7%) mentioned the adoption of that variety for professional reasons, whereas of the 76 who said they spoke British English, and the 12 who stated they spoke a British-American "blend" (89%, all told), only 19 (21.3%) referred to professional reasons for adopting those varieties. The majority of British English users referred to having learnt the variety as children or during teacher training.

Questions 4 and 5

Question 4 inquired about the variety of English used by most teachers in Argentina. 88% of Group 2 selected British English, only 9% selected American English and 2% selected a British-American "blend". When asked about the varieties preferred by their learners, opinions became evenly divided, as 47% stated that learners preferred American to British English, while 44% said that the British variety was usually preferred. Only 12% said that learners did not show any preference as regards varieties of English. There was a relatively even distribution of

teachers who selected British or American English: drawing a parallel, teachers who taught young learners said they used British English and teachers who taught adults kept loyal to their choice (US English). More importantly still, this question seems to have tipped the scales in favour of American English, if we contrast it with the previous questions, which mostly favoured the British standard.

Questions 6 and 7

Question 6 was targeted at the English-spoken media-related stimuli and the variety of English to be found in them. Not surprisingly, 94% of the teachers surveyed chose American English as the variety present in institutionalised or non-institutionalised spoken samples. Only 16% chose British English. In the case of *Question 7*, they were expected to mention one country which they thought exerts the strongest influence on Argentina. In this open question, 97% of the respondents did not hesitate to mention USA as the largest source of socio-cultural influence. Only 6% mentioned England as their choice.

At this point, an impressionistic detail should be briefly discussed. When the questionnaire was piloted, no problem arose when the last two questions were answered. Yet, in the course of the administration of the questionnaire, some teachers expressed some doubts as to whether these questions referred ELT teaching materials. This might have driven some teachers to choose England and not USA, which was heading for unanimity. This might be thought to slightly compromise the reliability of these questions. However, the number of teachers who might have failed to fully understand the referred questions seems to be negligible to the purpose of the present study.

SECTION 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1.- THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE

The process of "branding" is defined by dictionaries as "the name and image of a product or service" (*Online English Dictionary*, 2008), or simply as the act of "labelling with a trademark" (*New Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, 2002). However, in the business world we take it a few steps further. BNET (a leading worldwide online business organization) defines branding as

a means of distinguishing one firm's products or services from another's and of creating and maintaining an image that encourages confidence in the quality and performance of that firm's products or services (*BNET*, 2008:1).

As can be clearly seen, the British variety of English has been deeply branded in the case of the people surveyed (Group 1). These respondents were educated native speakers of Argentine Spanish, did

not have any specialist knowledge of the English language (they were not teachers or translators). However, for them, the ideal English variety is that spoken in Great Britain. They may have studied the language more or less systematically, and many of them could be considered potential learners of English, which implies that they can become "demand" makers. However, the kind of English that they have been made to prefer and even like is what they still regard as the "true" variety. By using the mentioned adjective, it seems clear that this group established a deficit parameter, whereby the dialect of the British Isles stands supreme, and all the other varieties are simply inferior or "worse". All this seems to mean that the "branding" process of British English in Argentina has been remarkably strong, especially when we consider the enormous power of US cultural influences, which obviously make themselves felt in the British English of today, and which might be classed as "the competition". Nevertheless, it would be unfair for us to claim that American English was not chosen by any one respondent, but the reasons provided by those who did choose US English was more solidly anchored in practical elements, such as travelling or exposure to the media.

The branding process of UK English has created a strange semiotic relationship between the people and the above variety. The British variety has been associated with such vague and even contradictory expressions as "slowness" of the speech flow, "good pronunciation", "tradition", "lack of foreign influences". It is as if the British "brand" were a "purer" product than its American counterpart. The affirmation that the English language is a commodity should not be seen as a revolutionary pronouncement. Applied linguistics can be said to have been created in England, curiously one of the countries that has never excelled in the art of foreign language teaching (the working knowledge of French, German or Spanish that the English obtain during their school years should speak for itself). Therefore, the United Kingdom indeed seems to have made an all-out effort to brand, market and export their once colonial language, just as the British have done with Scotch Whiskies, tartan kilts or the long-revered English breakfast tea (made, of course, in Sri-Lanka).

The group of nonspecialist people explored (Group 1) did not hesitate to state confidently that they were in a position to discriminate between the long-branded variety and the "inferior" American accent. Following their almost instinctive branding-driven aural skills, they were mostly able to

identify Brando's American accent. However, when it came to identifying the second recording, they instantly associated careless teenage speech with US English. Moreover, some made passing comments that if these youths were to be British, they would surely be "colonial" residents. Again, the deficit parameter becomes apparent: even within a British setting, there may be second-rate speakers who do not speak "good" English.

The results of *Questionnaire 1* bear testimony to a product that has been very efficiently sold for generations past and present. Contrary to what may happen in Latin American countries that may be closer to the United States, several concurrent factors might have been held responsible for the branding of British English as the variety most widely accepted in Argentina. The limitations of the qualitative elements in this research would make it impossible to risk a larger projection above and beyond this sample. However, it is felt that a much larger and more ambitious design would not yield altogether different results.

6.2.- THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND THE TEACHER

It is clear that the majority of the teachers surveyed (Group 2) did not vacillate to choose British English as the variety that they used, and the variety that they had been taught at college or in teachers' courses. This poses before us a fact that, as in the case of Group 1 responses, bears witness to a reality in our local setting and, in this particular case, in our local ELT environment. This does not mean that no one chose American English as their preferred accent, but very seldom was that variety reported as having been used much, let alone taught, at college. US English was reported as a variety that might have been taught only to some of the respondents before they entered college. As has been stated in the historical survey, the British variety seems to have been so well branded that college teachers, mostly because of their own training, seem to have been (and still be) unwitting transmitters of the aforementioned accent.

An interesting perception worth mentioning refers to the selection that Group 2 made as regards the language generally chosen by learners. Many of the teachers suggested British English as the norm. Others

pointed to a "passive" role on the part of the learners, as the latter may not demand any specific variety (in all senses of the verb 'may'). However, we could see that the subgroup who suggested American English almost entirely coincided with those teachers whose learners were mostly adults. If we consider the difference between a "captive" school population who usually does not have a say in the contents selected, least of all the kind of foreign language taught, as against an adult population, who can more easily establish a teacher-client relationship, and therefore voice their demands, it can be easily seen that the latter subgroup moves the scales in favour of the US variety of English. If the practical reasons suggested by Group 1 respondents for their choice of the American variety in general ("travelling", "exposure to the media", and so on), American English was apparently perceived as a more "practical" or "true-to-life" variety, and such a belief might not only influence teachers' decisions, but also some of their own accents: many teachers have, in fact, been reported as saying that their "choice" (US variety) responds to professional reasons. Interestingly, the question about learners' preferences yielded the most surprisingly even results, almost bringing UK and US English to a virtual "tie", and this is felt to bear direct relation to the learner population, that is, whether it is made up of "passive recipient" young learners or adult "learner-clients".

As regards their sociocultural and media-related awareness, the group of teachers surveyed (Group 2) were almost entirely sure that the major influences were either US-born or US-exported. In this respect, they seemed to be conscious of the difference between the variety of English requested of teachers and that which was present in the media –an instance when the mismatch becomes apparent. This was further corroborated by the almost unanimous perception of USA as the most powerful source of social and cultural influence. Furthermore, it might also be added that teachers themselves are also exposed to these influences, mostly clad in US rather than UK English, and this, no doubt, is to have some kind of effect on their own accents. The bearing that an omnipresent media accent can have on teachers and their own perceived accents is certainly a topic that begs further research.

At this point, we should attempt to establish an interface between respondents from Groups 1 and 2. Both groups perceived a clear supremacy of the well branded British variety, and this is to be considered logical, as they all belonged to the same social group. Group 1 seemed to regard the English language as part of their past lives and, especially, as part of their past schooling –in either case a

time when British English apparently ruled supreme. The subgroup from Group 2 who reported that they taught adult learners did not seem to feel the pressure of the past, and, in a way, they see themselves apart from Group 1. This last comment should not be regarded as definitive statement, as it would imply an overinterpretation of the data gathered. Indeed, some of the people in Group 1 seemed to prefer American English for travelling purposes and for the enjoyment of and contact with media-related signals in American English, which, although on a small scale, have become an everyday presence.

6.3.- A BRANDED VARIETY

Up to now, we have interpreted data emerging from the present research, which constitutes only a microcosm in the world of colonised partitions and commodified languages. A careful look at the macrocosm, that is to say, at the historical elements that commodified and later branded the English language in the world in general, and in Argentina in particular, would not offer an altogether different picture.

Indeed, we can state that one of the features of modernity (Giddens, 1990) is that the seemingly evident relationship bringing together language, race, nation identity seems to have broken down. The elements that have contributed to this breakdown are said to be porous country borders, easy communication and travel, and especially easy buying and selling. The result is that languages, particularly globalised languages like English, are increasingly seen in commodified or instrumentalised terms or in terms of their usefulness in the global as well as the local market place. Even a prospective look into the future might bear witness to this. In effect, Graddol (1997) clearly states that there is no imminent danger to the English language, or to its global popularity. In fact, the press release for the launch of the British Council's 'English 2000 Project' in 1995 very clearly establishes the position of English:

World-wide, there are over 1.400 million people living in countries where English has official status. One out of five of the world's population speaks English to some level of competence. Demand from the other four fifths is increasing. [...] By the year 2000, it is estimated that over one billion people will be learning English. English is the

main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science technology, diplomacy, sport, international competitions, pop music and advertising (British Council, 1995, cited in Graddol 1997).

However, it is an organisation reporting to the British Government organisation that informs an international audience about this projection; it is definitely not an American affirmation. This is a clear indicator that the idea of "ownership" of the English language still rests in British rather than American hands.

In effect, however strong and extended American imperialism can be, it does not seem to have been able to patronise the colonial means that was used to colonise the Americans themselves: the English language. Americans seem to feel that they have the power to monopolise several portions of reality, except the English language, at least not in the setting where this research has been conducted. In fact, several socio-historical reasons seem to converge on to this reality, notably the history of British immigration to Argentina, a pedagogic tradition possibly stemming from socio-political Anglo-Argentine relations before

the rise of US supremacy, and a conscious effort of the English government to keep its "control" over a language that is traditionally theirs.

Regarding British immigration to Argentina, the brief study conducted seems to corroborate its importance, which can be extended to the linguistic orbit. Indeed, British immigrants came to Argentina and formed socially and economically strong communities. This made it possible for them to adapt themselves to a new environment and create their own institutions. British schools, as well as other sports, social and cultural organisations, can bear witness to this institutionalisation of the British culture in Argentina. Conversely, the American migration flow to our country is negligible, almost non-existent (Willis, 1947). Therefore, this certainly stands as a solid reason for the prevalence of a British linguistic standard.

The relationship between England and Argentina may also substantiate the supremacy of the UK variety of English, although, in our view, to a lesser extent. In fact, the solid commercial ties between the British Isles and our country in the past gave way (although by no means completely) to the massive political, social and cultural influence of

USA, mostly after the 1930s. Indeed, when America began to export its products on a global scale, the American culture (and, of course, its language) made itself felt worldwide, and particularly in Latin America after the dawning of the Cold War. However, as stated above, American language-related institutions (ICANA, the Lincoln Library, American schools, etc.) could never surpass or outperform the more traditional British institutions.

These institutions (the British Council being the most prominent example) reflect the effort made by the British government to keep their control over the English language. This seems evident when it comes to educational texts and the number of English-based publishing houses operating on the local market, and their influence on bilingual and foreign language education in Argentina. If we take a quick look at the institutes that sell the English language courses, we can clearly perceive the strong presence of British texts, in addition to semiotic add-ons as a picture of Big Ben, of a London double-decker bus or of the Queen herself. This clearly shows the strong presence of a well-branded commodity, stemming undoubtedly from an official –rather than officious-- endeavour.

6.4.- A FINAL WORD

The evidence, both historical and research-based, seems to indicate that, no matter how strong American influence may be, the once British Empire stands unchallenged and unshakeable in regard to the ownership of the English language, particularly in the location where this research has been conducted.

The ordinary person, the teacher or the owner of an English language institute (as is the case of the writer of the present study) cannot but perceive this preponderance in his/her own social setting. It is clear that the English language, as an established product, does not need to be marketed as a newly launched commodity: the only apparently necessary elements to be highlighted seem to be the methodologies that are implemented, the professionals who teach it and the premises that will host the act of teaching.

English seems to have become a global language long before the so-called globalisation process came into existence --it could have been even one of the major globalising forces. At the same time, the British variety, in particular, has struggled to keep its once imperial position. Henceforward, a long time will have to pass before its American counterpart (or any other variety, for that matter) can attempt to overthrow the linguistic supremacy of the United Kingdom. It is true that the sun has now partially set on what was once the largest Empire in the world. However, in our appraisal of facts, we can assume that the language of that Empire will still continue shining for a long time yet.

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APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire given to male and female respondents, with non-specialist knowledge of English

UNIVERSIDAD DEL SALVADOR Facultad de Filosofía, Historia y Letras

Le rogamos responda este cuestionario. Su respuesta será muy valiosa como parte de un estudio de campo sobre la enseñanza del idioma inglés en Argentina.

Edad:

20 a 45 años
Más de 45 años

☐
☐

Sexo:

Masculino
Femenino

☐
☐

1.- ¿Habla usted inglés?

Sí
No

☐
☐

2.- ¿Ha estudiado usted inglés sistemáticamente (aparte de la materia 'inglés' en la educación primaria o secundaria oficial)?

Sí
No

☐
☐

2.- Si ha estudiado inglés alguna vez, por favor indique dónde (Puede elegir más de una opción en este caso). Nota: Esta pregunta no se restringe a quienes hayan contestado afirmativamente a la pregunta anterior.

.....

4.- ¿Reconoce usted tipos de inglés diferente, por ejemplo en películas extranjeras subtituladas, habladas en ese idioma?

Sí
No

5.- ¿Cuál es la variedad del inglés que, a su juicio, podría llegar a entenderse mejor?

- a. Inglés británico
- b. Inglés americano
- c. Otra (por favor especificar):

6.- ¿Por qué cree usted que esto es así?

.....

7.- ¿Qué entiende usted por la frase “verdadero inglés”?

.....

8.- Por favor, escuche atentamente estas grabaciones de 2 minutos cada una, e intente identificar el tipo de inglés (británico o americano).

Grabación 1

Inglés británico
Inglés americano

Grabación 2

Inglés británico
Inglés americano

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE GIVEN TO ELT PROFESSIONALS

UNIVERSIDAD DEL SALVADOR Facultad de Filosofía, Historia y Letras

Le rogamos responda este cuestionario. Su respuesta será muy valiosa como parte de un estudio de campo sobre la enseñanza del idioma inglés en Argentina.

1.- Indique a cuál de los siguientes grupos pertenecen sus alumnos, en general.

- a. Niños y adolescentes
- b. Adultos

2.- ¿Cuál es la variedad del inglés que utiliza usted regularmente?

- c. Inglés americano
- d. Inglés británico
- e. Inglés irlandés
- f. Otra (por favor especificar):

**3.- Usted utiliza regularmente la mencionada variedad, dado que
(Puede elegir más de una opción en este caso)**

- a. dicha variedad le fue enseñada a usted en un profesorado, o curso para docentes.
- b. dicha variedad le fue enseñada a usted desde pequeño/a.
- c. dicha variedad debió ser adoptada por usted para el ejercicio profesional

4.- Por favor, marque con una cruz la variedad del inglés que, a su juicio, es regularmente elegida por los profesores argentinos para enseñar el idioma inglés:

- a. Inglés americano

--

- b. Inglés británico
- c. Inglés irlandés
- d. Otra (por favor especificar) :

5.- Por favor, marque con una cruz la variedad del inglés que, a su juicio, es regularmente elegida por el alumnado argentino para aprender el idioma inglés:

- d. Inglés americano
- e. Inglés británico
- f. Inglés irlandés
- g. Otra (por favor especificar):

6.- Los estímulos mediáticos en inglés que recibe su entorno social y profesional, así como su medio geográfico, provienen principalmente de la variedad:

- a. americana
- b. británica
- c. irlandesa
- d. Otra (por favor especificar) :

7.- Elija el país extranjero que, a su juicio, ejerce una marcada influencia cultural en su país.

.....

APPENDIX 3

A ROOSEVELT (1904)

Rubén Darío (1867-1916)

¡Es con voz de la Biblia, o verso de Walt Whitman,
que habría que llegar hasta ti, Cazador!
Primitivo y moderno, sencillo y complicado,
con un algo de Washington y cuatro de Nemrod.
Eres los Estados Unidos,
eres el futuro invasor
de la América ingenua que tiene sangre indígena,
que aún reza a Jesucristo y aún habla en español.

Eres soberbio y fuerte ejemplar de tu raza;
eres culto, eres hábil; te opones a Tolstoy.
Y domando caballos, o asesinando tigres,
eres un Alejandro-Nabucodonosor.
(Eres un profesor de energía,
como dicen los locos de hoy.)

Crees que la vida es incendio,
que el progreso es erupción;
en donde pones la bala
el porvenir pones.

No.

Los Estados Unidos son potentes y grandes.
Cuando ellos se estremecen hay un hondo temblor
que pasa por las vértebras enormes de los Andes.
Si clamáis, se oye como el rugir del león.
Ya Hugo a Grant le dijo: «Las estrellas son vuestras».
(Apenas brilla, alzándose, el argentino sol
y la estrella chilena se levanta...) Sois ricos.
Juntáis al culto de Hércules el culto de Mammón;
y alumbrando el camino de la fácil conquista,
la Libertad levanta su antorcha en Nueva York.

Mas la América nuestra, que tenía poetas
desde los viejos tiempos de Netzahualcoyotl,
que ha guardado las huellas de los pies del gran Baco,
que el alfabeto pánico en un tiempo aprendió;

que consultó los astros, que conoció la Atlántida,
cuyo nombre nos llega resonando en Platón,
que desde los remotos momentos de su vida
vive de luz, de fuego, de perfume, de amor,
la América del gran Moctezuma, del Inca,
la América fragante de Cristóbal Colón,
la América católica, la América española,
la América en que dijo el noble Guatemoc:
«Yo no estoy en un lecho de rosas»; esa América
que tiembla de huracanes y que vive de Amor,
hombres de ojos sajones y alma bárbara, vive.
Y sueña. Y ama, y vibra; y es la hija del Sol.
Tened cuidado. ¡Vive la América española!
Hay mil cachorros sueltos del León Español.
Se necesitaría, Roosevelt, ser Dios mismo,
el Riflero terrible y el fuerte Cazador,
para poder tenernos en vuestras férreas garras.

Y, pues contáis con todo, falta una cosa: ¡Dios!